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SOME PRINCIPLES OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANISATION.¹

THE CASE FOR AND AGAINST SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT.

THE purpose of my paper is to summarise briefly the principles and methods of Scientific Management, to discuss its advantages and to suggest what seem to me its dangers. Then I wish to show how in an actual business organization we have endeavoured to carry out some of its principles and avoid some of its dangers.

Scientific Management as defined by those who have originated this system "fundamentally consists of certain broad general principles, a certain philosophy, which can be applied in many ways, . . . the best mechanism for applying these general principles should in no way be confused with the principles themselves."² The new system throws increased responsibility, new burdens and new duties on the management. "The managers assume the burden of gathering together all the traditional knowledge which in the past has been possessed by the workmen and then of classifying, tabulating and reducing this knowledge to rules, laws and formulæ, which are immensely helpful to the workmen in doing their daily work. In addition to developing a *science* in this way, the management take on three other types of duties which involve new and heavy burdens for themselves."³ They develop a science for each element of a man's work; they scientifically select and then train, teach and develop the workman; they co-operate with the men so as to ensure all the work being done in accordance with the principles of the science which has been developed. In short, the science says it is possible to find the best man, make him produce the best possible work as to quality and quantity, and at the same time improve the wages, the health, and the morals of the worker.

When one examines in detail the operation of Taylor's system as it is actually being carried out, the questions that arise are too many and varied for all to be dealt with in this paper. For

1. A paper read before the Sociological Society, November 11, 1913.

2. Taylor's "Scientific Management," pp. 28-9.

3. Ibid., p. 36.

example, no business man who claims to be efficient will deny the necessity of such methods as accurate and detailed costs, the careful and scientific planning out of the machinery in a workshop, and a planning department to systematise the flow of work from one process to another. Although one may criticise some of the principles underlying Taylor's system of task work, there are many suggestions of his which as time goes on will have to be much more widely adopted, although probably they are not altogether new. Amongst these are the careful and accurate teaching of the workers, instead of their being left to find out the methods from their fellow-workmen as best they can (this point I shall deal with more fully later on); the study of the right kind of tool for any particular piece of work, which is obviously a most important problem; and the selection of the workers best suited to any particular task.

The last named is now receiving an increasing share of attention. In the past there has not been very much done on these lines, but in the United States considerable attention is now being devoted to it, and important conferences have met in New York and other places dealing with the question of vocational guidance. In Boston a Bureau was established in 1908, in which all Boston boys and girls were to receive advice as to the calling in life to which by their mental or physical characteristics they were best adapted. The methods adopted were at first superficial, but at the same time very interesting and suggestive. It is now claimed, however, by certain writers, such as Hugo Münsterberg, that the problem can be and should be handed over to the experimental psychologists, and that it is possible to evolve a definite science of vocational guidance. At the same time, of course, the applied psychologist will have to get part of his material from the factories and workshops where the industrial operations proceed, and enlightened employers can render great assistance to the movement. The problem, as Münsterberg states it, is that "we have to analyse definite economic tasks with reference to mental qualities which are necessary or desirable for them, and we have to find methods by which these mental qualities can be tested. We must, indeed, insist on it that the interests of commerce and industry can be helped only when both sides, the vocational demands and the personal function, are examined with equal scientific thoroughness."¹ Münsterberg himself has carried out experiments in the interests of electric railway service, his problems being to secure fit motormen for the electric railways. For example, the qualities needed in an efficient motorman are the ability to keep attention constant, to resist distraction by chance happenings on the street, and especially the always needed ability to foresee the possible movements of pedestrians and vehicles. These qualities are

1. "Psychology and Industrial Efficiency," p. 57.

extremely different in different men. Some motormen hardly ever have an accident, while other motormen keep better time, and so on.¹ Similar experiments have been carried out in the interests of the shipping service and the telephone service.

Another interesting example is given by Taylor in connection with the manufacture of the balls used in cycle bearings. After these balls are manufactured they are most carefully sorted by girls. Now one of the qualities needed in this work is the ability to perform quickly the action of picking out a ball which is faulty. This psychological and physical process takes time, and the time varies in different persons. Some people who wish to pick out a thing can do so much more quickly than others, and if a certain time is saved on each ball that has to be picked out it will amount to a great saving of time during the day. Acting on this idea experiments were made to find out the girls who had the quickest co-efficient of action. The girls who were relatively slow were dismissed, and the output was increased by more than one hundred per cent. We have been doing something of this kind when selecting girls for employment at Bournville. With the help of our lady doctor we pick out those who are suited for heavy work; we also select those with a particular type of hand for special work in connection with chocolate; and any who say they can draw are given a test of their powers, and if suitable are put on the list for decorative work requiring a steady hand and trained eye. Time-workers who inspect the work of pieceworkers are tested for their eyesight before their appointment to this post. There is no doubt that we shall develop still further on these lines.

The question, however, which appeals to me most is what the exponents of this system call "the task idea." It is here that we reach the most important point, for we are dealing not with inanimate things, but with men and women, with all their physiological and psychological needs and possibilities, as well as prejudices and social sympathies. Even if on the productive side the results are all that the promoters of scientific management claim, there is still the question of the human cost of the economies produced.

As I have said, according to Taylor, "the most prominent single element in modern scientific management is the task idea."² The task of every workman is fully planned out, and each man usually receives written instructions describing in the minutest detail the work which he is to accomplish, as well as the means to be used in doing it. It is stated that even in crude and elementary unskilled work the science and method are quite

1. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

2. *Principles of Scientific Management*, p. 39.

beyond the man who is doing it. And this is equally true of the skilled mechanic. Taking the handling of pig-iron as an example of unskilled work, we are told that one of the first requirements of a man for this work is that "he shall be so stupid and so phlegmatic that he more nearly resembles in his mental make-up the ox than any other type."¹ Again, it is stated that "It is only through *enforced* standardization of methods, *enforced* adoption of the best implements and working conditions, and *enforced* co-operation that this faster work can be assured."² In the case of a machine shop, under functional management, the old fashioned single foreman is superseded by eight different men, who direct the workman.³

The incentive to the workman is supplied by higher wages, from 30 per cent. to 60 per cent. above the average rate being paid. In this connection it is suggested that too high a wage has a deteriorating effect on the workman—while 60 per cent. increase makes him more healthy, regular in his habits and in attendance at work, 100 per cent. makes him shiftless and careless and he loses time at his work: a surprising assertion after what has been claimed for the moral effect of the system!⁴ The increase is given on the differential premium basis, the more work a man does the more in proportion he gets. The various foremen have also an interest in the work on the same differential basis—*i.e.*, they receive a bonus for each man who fulfils the allotted task, and an additional bonus when all the men under their supervision fulfil the task.

It has in fairness to be pointed out that the founders of this system, Taylor and Gantt, emphasise that at all costs overwork of the employees must be avoided. They aim at the best interests of the employee as well as of the employer. After careful consideration of this system various questions arise in one's mind, and it seems doubtful if the efficiency engineers have adequately faced the cost to the individual and the effect on society of their extremely clever system.

First there is the question of physical strain. In some of the illustrations given increased efficiency was obtained by enforced periods of rest. This was the case in the loading of pig-iron. But in more complex tasks the problem is not so simple. The essence of the system is the concentration of attention upon limited and intensive tasks. The work is minutely sub-divided and this must mean monotony and greater nervous strain. It is impossible to give specific proof of this, but the evidence offered on the other side

1. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 123.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 74.

by the efficiency engineers is too general to be satisfactory. In relation to girls in particular the question of fatigue is all important. In saying this, I am assuming that the best conditions for the welfare of the employee are actually carried out as far as possible, and that such matters as hours of work, ventilation of workshops, sanitation, and all other conditions will be in conformity with the best modern practice. But in actual working the danger of the whole system, as Taylor himself sees, is that the mechanism of the system without the spirit will come into operation, and then we get a system of "drive" and "speeding-up" more intense than the industrial world has ever previously seen.¹

It is still an open question whether the device of specializing workers by limiting each man to one minute section of work is a step towards economic progress from a national point of view, but I will leave this matter until I deal with the effect of scientific methods on personality and character. At this stage I merely state that the trade-unionists assert that the whole system is unremunerative to the worker,—an exacting and rigorous process, which paves the way for deterioration both mental and physical in a future generation, and which courts inevitable failure as soon as the trade-unions are strong enough to stop it. The trade-unionists are thus definitely opposing methods, some of which in themselves are legitimate and even necessary when properly used.

Another point that arises is in respect to wages. It is clear that so long as only a few firms have this system, the increased production will allow of higher wages being paid; in fact such higher wages will have to be paid or the employee will leave and go to another factory where his traditional methods are not interfered with. But when all factories adopt this method, and all workmen are trained in the new way, the monopoly value will have disappeared and the labourer will no longer be able to enforce the higher wages. Of course as a consumer he would reap some benefit, for some at least of the economic benefits must pass to the consumer, but it is probable that his gain would not make up to him for the increased strain of the new methods. The increased output of each individual would mean a large decrease in the number of labourers who would have been required under the old methods, and unless there was a considerable increase in the number of hours worked, the tendency under the law of supply and demand would be to lessen the demand for workmen and thus weaken the bargaining power of the worker.

To conclude my remark on wages: some attempt has been made by English firms to adopt the American system of payment on the differential bonus basis, though, generally speaking, the amount

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 128-9, p. 134.

offered the workmen is not so substantial as that suggested by Taylor, and in many cases has been no incentive but rather a cause for friction, so much so that the Amalgamated Society of Engineers have voted against its continuance—24,314 being against it, and only 4,777 for its continuance. There are at least half-a-dozen ways of calculating the scale of bonus-rates. In all of these, where trade-unionists are concerned, a day-rate has to be guaranteed, and the bonus for time saved is usually paid in such a way as to prevent more than time-and-a-quarter being earned. According to the Engineers' ballot, this percentage is considered out of proportion to the increased gain of industry. In respect to this matter, a committee of the Trade Union Congress was appointed in 1909 to investigate the methods and defects of the premium bonus system, and they reported that "almost without exception the premium bonus system is condemned by all who have practical experience of its working," "that it destroys the principle of collective bargaining"; "that it is destructive of trade-unionism and discourages organization"; "that it is one of the causes of unemployment"; "that it leads to scamping of work"; "that it prevents the proper training of apprentices"; that it promotes selfishness amongst the men in the shop and that "it promotes workshop favouritism."¹

These are examples of how such schemes of recompensing workmen for improved efficiency have been distorted and must not be mistaken for their true methods of remuneration, of which I have already spoken.

The most important question of all is the effect of the task system upon the personality and character of the worker. Under present conditions many unskilled jobs allow a limited amount of freedom and initiative, and even some of the most mechanical can be done in different ways; yet one has to admit the justice of the criticisms on unskilled labour in its effect on personality and character. The work is monotonous and depressing, the subdivision of processes being carried to such an extent that there is a narrowing of interest, and automatic machinery almost eliminates any demand for initiative and adaptation. The low standard of comfort and order among the unskilled workers, their lack of discrimination in literature, their want of foresight and thrift, the easy way in which they are swayed by rant and rhetoric, are facts familiar to us all. Even if monotony of work is not solely responsible for this condition of things it at least intensifies it and does nothing to counteract it. Therefore any further sub-division of labour in the direction of eliminating any little judgment and initiative as to methods of work, valuable as it might be in its

1. Report of the Joint Committee of the Trades Union Congress on The Premium Bonus System (1910).

immediate results on production, would almost certainly in the long run produce effects which would lower the whole capacity of the worker. At the recent meetings of the British Association it was stated by the reader of one of the papers,¹ that the gulf between the artisan and the unskilled labourer has widened in the last thirty years; while the artisan has progressed the unskilled labourer has remained stationary if he has not deteriorated; and I believe the greater monotony of his work is partly accountable for this. And would not this tendency be accentuated by the Taylor system?

Undoubtedly there is great waste in the present slipshod methods, and great advances towards the scientific selection of workmen, time-study of operations, recording of results, standardization of tools and equipment, and careful cost estimates, are necessary; but the reduction of the workman to a living tool, with differential bonus schemes to induce him to expend his last ounce of energy, while initiative and judgment and freedom of movement are eliminated, in the long run must either demoralise the workman, or more likely in England, produce great resentment and result in serious differences between masters and men. In this connection we must remember that the present industrial unrest is not a mere demand for higher wages and shorter hours, but an increasing knowledge on the part of the workman of his lack of control of the conditions of his own life. Our whole scheme of social, industrial and political life rests on the idea and practice that management and control are in the hands of the middle-classes and the rich. The controlling positions in the army and navy, in the civil service, and in all the professions are practically barred to the workers, and the growth of the Labour Party and Trade Unionism, and even Syndicalism properly understood, are expressions of the workman's demand to control his own life. And this demand will have to be reckoned with, for as we have seen there have already been strikes arising out of the attempt to introduce the mechanism of scientific management into various establishments.

This raises another important point that time will not allow me to discuss adequately. What is the relation of this new science to trade-unionism? Up to the present time most of the literature dealing with the subject has come from America, and there the spirit and practice of trade-unionism is very different from what it is here. It is relatively weak in numbers and influence, and as far as the I.W.W.² is concerned, distinctly revolutionary and syndicalist in spirit and practice. But granting this, it does not justify the position taken up by the pioneers of scientific management. Gantt, for example, while admitting that trade-unions have been necessary

1. Mr. Frank Tillyard's Paper at the British Association Meetings, 1913.

2. Industrial Workers of the World.

to the workmen in the past and have distinctly improved the lot of the workers, goes on to say that "Unions are formed as a rule by men of energy to help each other, and the poor workman is taken in, not for the good he does to the union, but for the harm he does if not in."¹ "And if we wish to prevent him joining the union, we must make it to his interest not to do so. In other words, we must provide him with means of advancing his interest that is superior to what the union offers."² Possibly this will be a ground of appeal to employers in this country, but I believe that such a policy will be most mistaken. Any scheme which aims at lessening the worker's independence by drawing him from his Union is running counter to the very spirit of the times and will arouse the fiercest hostility. Gantt says at bottom the worker is governed just by narrow self-interest.³ I think that the modern democratic movement disproves this assertion. There is a devotion and a spirit of solidarity that cannot be explained on any such basis. The solution of these problems will have to come by working through the unions, and any attack upon the workman's power of collective bargaining is foredoomed to failure. Of course up to now the unions have failed to understand this new industrial advance. They will have to admit many of the new methods and principles, and one of the next steps of advance is to educate them as to its possibilities and to use collective bargaining as one of the means. Any attempt to detach one man after another by promises of higher pay, in the way scientific engineers appear to have done in the States, is impossible in England at the present time.

In this rapid summary of scientific management I have emphasized its dangers, not because I feel the way to avoid them is a simple matter, but rather because their very difficulty emphasizes the need of careful thought and consideration by employers. It seems to me that in the long run it will defeat itself for employers to consider a man merely as a tool. We must keep in mind that a man and his personality is always an end in itself, and working people in the future will have to be treated less as tools and more as men.

This is the principle on which we have endeavoured to organize our own factory. We have always believed that business efficiency and the welfare of the employees are but different sides of the same problem. As I have stated elsewhere,⁴ my test of any factory organization is the extent to which it creates and fosters the atmosphere and spirit of co-operation and goodwill, without in any way lessening the loyalty of the worker to his own class and its

1. H. L. Gantt's "Work, Wages and Profits," 2nd edition, p. 57.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 57-59.

4. "Experiments in Industrial Organisation."

organizations. The worker has also the right to be considered as one who ought to play his part as an intelligent and capable citizen.

I now propose to give briefly some of the actual schemes and methods we have adopted with a view to minimising the evils which have seemed almost inherent in any factory organization.

I have always considered it a very important matter to eliminate as far as possible the internal friction which must arise to some extent in a factory under the present wages system. In any wages system there must be some element of driving, and the interests of employer and employed are never absolutely identical. On the other hand there is some identity of interest, and by the recognition of the workers' point of view, and by taking human nature into account this identity of interest can be emphasized, with the result that the goodwill and efficiency of the employees are fostered, and the staff and foremen can give practically the whole of their attention to organizing their departments, instead of their time and attention being absorbed in irritating details of personal friction or disobedience. It is not merely a question of preventing the workmen breaking rules and regulations, but of inducing them to take a positive interest in the welfare of the business, and in making them feel that their work and their personality count, no matter how humble the position they occupy. This attitude of mind on the part of the employee shows itself at once in the elimination of avoidable waste and other ways of reducing cost of output. I cannot, of course, claim that we have entirely succeeded in eliminating friction, or in satisfying all the legitimate demands of our employees, but we have gone some way towards it, and I think, too, I can fairly say that some of the difficulties we have arise from the more intelligent outlook of our employees, and from the fact that we have trained them to apply to us a standard which they would not apply to many employers. This is particularly noticeable in the demand the different trade-unions make. They have become accustomed to our giving careful consideration to the points they raise, although, of course, we do not always agree to what they ask. This appears to me a natural outcome of the educational training and the higher standard of life attained by our workpeople.

SELECTION OF EMPLOYEES.

In the selection of employees we keep in mind the fact that older people are not easy to train into new habits and methods, so wherever possible we take on young people and train them ourselves. All applicants are obtained through the local Labour Exchange, the officials of which know our standards and requirements, and so save us a great deal of trouble by eliminating those

obviously unqualified for employment by us. The applicants are seen by a director, assisted by the staff including the firm's medical officer. The director, not the foreman, engages the applicant, and thus favouritism is eliminated from the start and the applicants are appointed purely on their merits. There are three tests: educational acquirements; general tone and character; and physical efficiency. We give preference to applicants from secondary schools and from the higher standards in elementary schools. We also prefer them just leaving school, as they have not lost their habits of discipline and have not yet forgotten what they learned. A schedule of questions as to place in school, previous employment, name of school, age, etc., is handed to each girl applicant. This she herself has to fill in, thus making her own statement—which is verified later by a visit to her home. Applicants must reside within three miles of their work. The works' doctors examine all applicants, and in passing those physically fit recommendations are made as to the class and nature of work for which they are fitted.

The new employee has to agree to attend continuation schools and physical training classes to the age of 18, the latter being held in the firm's time. Boys and girls under 18 must have their teeth examined by the works' dentists and where necessary undergo treatment, without, of course, any expense to themselves. A letter is sent to every parent of employees of 18 and under, explaining the purpose and method of the educational and other schemes, and asking for co-operation in carrying them out, so that the young employee may obtain the maximum benefit from them. The parent is also asked to sign an authorization note agreeing that the boy or girl shall attend the educational and physical training classes until 18 years of age, and shall be willing to receive treatment by the works' dentists up to the age of 21. In this way an attempt is made to ensure both mental and physical development.

EDUCATION OF EMPLOYEES.

It will be noted that we consider the selection of our workers one of the most important functions of the management, and the quality and efficiency of labour is an integral and co-ordinated part of our business.

Classes of various kinds have been carried on by the firm for more than twelve years. In 1906 the whole of the educational work was co-ordinated and centralized under a Works Education Committee. Another fact, which will show how seriously we view the importance of our educational work, is that overtime is never allowed to interfere in any way with the education of our employees, even at the risk of some dislocation of our work.

I have not time to deal in full detail with the educational schemes. The various forms may be classified under five heads :—

1. Compulsory Evening Classes.
2. Physical Training Classes.
3. Miscellaneous Classes.
4. Apprenticeship Scheme.
5. Trade Classes.

In developing these schemes, amongst many important things we have endeavoured to keep in mind that the employee has to be considered as an end in himself; his education has to fit him to be not merely a good workman, but a good man. It should develop in him a capacity for a life varied in interests and tolerant in outlook. This is especially true of the unskilled man, because of his lack of opportunity in other ways. At the same time there is the economic aspect, and we want a scheme that will develop initiative, self-control and general knowledge. Specialized knowledge is necessary and is determined by the future occupation of an employee.

APPRENTICESHIP SCHEME.

I have already mentioned the Apprenticeship scheme. At Bournville we carry on more than twenty specified trades, and there are apprentices in each of these. Apprenticeship is considered a form of promotion. All boys who obtain employment at the Works must do unskilled work until 16 years of age, and at the same time must take the general education course. At the age of 16 those showing special ability are selected to come under the Apprenticeship scheme. The basis of selection is :—

1. Report from Foreman.
2. Report from School.
3. A Works examination, which includes an essay on the trade the boy would like to enter.

Merit and capacity, not favouritism, thus determines who will get promotion. The boy signs an indenture to attend classes and to work for the firm until he is 21. The syllabus for the respective trades have been drawn up by the Works Education Committee in consultation with the foremen concerned. The details of the boys' work and training in the shop are carefully thought out, and both the boy and foremen understand what the apprentice has to be definitely taught, and what he must teach himself. Afternoon classes have been arranged, and the apprentice attends these in the firm's time. Facilities are also given for the apprentices to do their technical-school homework under supervision and guidance during the day, and a special Trades Library has been formed to

give the student ready access to books dealing with his trade. Writing and drawing materials are provided, and informal instruction is given on such subjects as note-taking, power of expression, use of reference books, etc. This experiment of organized homework in the firm's time is of considerable interest.

DISCIPLINE.

I should like now to deal briefly with our system of discipline. In the early days of the firm we adopted the usual methods of fines and deductions, but experience showed that it was not in any way reformatory. When the fine was paid the worker considered the offence wiped out. This system did not lead to efficiency, and so we adopted the record system—i.e., each girl has a record card and on this any offence is entered in the same way that any special merit is. Each month one of the directors interviews the alleged offenders. The whole system is designed to be reformatory, so we have no fixed rules as to punishment. The record is kept on the card for two years, and then if no further offence has been committed the card is destroyed and a clean record substituted. In dealing with these offenders actual punishment beyond a caution is not often necessary. The system leads to greater efficiency, because it has been possible to weed out the inefficient, although it is found that fewer discharges are necessary than under a system of fines.

SLOW WORKERS.

Another important class that have to be dealt with are the slow workers—i.e., those who regularly fail to attain the minimum output fixed for their class of work. The simplest plan would be to discharge them, but it is worth a little trouble to attempt to find the cause of their inefficiency and to adopt reformatory and remedial agencies where possible. Sometimes a little consideration shows that a change of work is all that is necessary, or that ill-health is the cause. Accordingly our method is for a director to consider each case and to interview the girl. A report on her general behaviour is presented, and a report from the doctor as to her physical condition and fitness for the work she is doing, and for any work that she might do better. Most of the cases of inefficiency are due to physical causes, and these are put under the care of the doctor with instructions to follow the advice. Some girls are sent away at once to the convalescent home. In some cases it is found that the girls are keeping late hours, and are therefore not getting sufficient sleep; others are found to be cases of malnutrition caused either by want of food or by want of proper varieties of food, due to poverty or mismanagement in the home. Only about five to seven per cent. of the inefficient girls are found

to be indolent and lazy. This is often the case where the girl's parents are fairly well-to-do and the girl keeps most of her wages for pocket-money. The large majority of the girls reported as slow and inefficient are improved and become normal workers. I have always been much impressed by our results, and they suggest to me that care and organization could prevent much economic and social waste, and loss of individual character and efficiency. It is less costly in the end for the nation to keep the worker efficient than to allow him to deteriorate until he becomes one of the unemployable, a burden to himself and to society.

ORGANIZATION.

We adopt a system of committees in the general organization of the factory. The four managing directors divide the business organization between them, and have the control of their own departments. They and the Chairman meet weekly as a Committee of Management, and this Committee is the final authority in all cases. There are also several committees with one of the managing directors as chairman,—for example, the Men's Works Committee, which is responsible for the internal working of the men's departments, and the Girls' Works Committee, which has the same function with regard to the women's departments. These two committees consist of one of the directors as chairman, members of the staff, selected by the Board of Directors, and a foreman or forewoman representing the foremen or forewomen. The secretary of the Men's Works Committee is a member of the Girls' Works Committee, thus keeping the two committees in touch with each other. These committees serve a most useful purpose, and the directors have continued to devolve duties upon them. They have a large amount of business, having an agenda of seventy to eighty items each week.

In addition to the above are the two Suggestion Committees, one representing men's departments and the other women's departments, which deal with the suggestions received through the Suggestion Scheme. The majority of the members of these committees are elected by the workpeople and staff. Through the Suggestion Scheme and the Committees we hope to develop the initiative and responsibility of the workpeople, and in the same way through the other Committees we endeavour to develop the initiative and responsibility of the staff.

Another Committee which deals with the interior organization of the Works is the Education Committee, which is composed of two directors and eight members of the staff. All the members of this committee take a keen interest in education, and the whole of the educational work of the firm, including the physical instruction,

is under their control. This is looked upon as one of the most important committees and is the only one on which more than one director serves. It is divided into two sub-committees, dealing respectively with the men's and women's departments.

There are other committees dealing with the external side of the business, such as buying and selling; and there are also technical committees, but these are outside the scope of my paper.

SUGGESTION SCHEME.

I mentioned above the two Suggestion Committees, one for men and one for women. For many years we have had Suggestion Schemes in operation, and we annually receive about 8,000 suggestions, of which 24 to 25 per cent. are adopted. The two committees deal with the consideration and carrying out of these. Every employee is encouraged to make suggestions for the improvement of machinery or processes, conditions of work, health and safety, recreation, etc. Grievances can also be ventilated in this way, especially as the Committee does not know the name of the suggestor, and the committees are largely composed of representatives of the workers elected by ballot. Prizes are awarded for suggestions adopted, and reasons are given to the suggestor for those rejected.

CONDITIONS OF WORK.

There are many other matters of importance, such as the arrangements for preserving the health and safety of employees, that have to be carefully considered—but space forbids more than a passing mention. In my paper I have taken it for granted that any efficient industrial organization necessitates that a living wage must be paid, and hours of labour and general conditions must not involve the deterioration of the workers. From the purely utilitarian point of view good conditions of work and wages, such as good lighting, well-ventilated rooms and cheerful surroundings have a direct effect on the economic efficiency of the worker.

CARD-BOX DEPARTMENT.

In conclusion I propose to deal briefly with the actual working of one department to show how our theories develop in practice, and for this purpose I propose to take the Card-box department, which employs nearly 500 women. In this department, as in others, we give the most careful attention to the planning out of the workrooms, and the procuring of the most up-to-date machinery, as the higher the wages the more important becomes the question of labour-saving machinery. There is a costs system and also a planning department, which maps out the year's work and adjusts

it according to the actual demand from week to week. Time will not allow of my entering into details of these, as I am chiefly concerned in this paper with the human side of works' organization.

In the first place the girl would be selected by a director, after passing the doctor and dentist, and as card-box making is a skilled trade the more intelligent girls are selected for this department. She would undergo the four years' course of physical training at the Works, and also take the four years' educational course. For the first two years, from 14 to 16, she would be a learner, and would receive for the first year 4/6 to 5/- per week of 42 hours, and for the second year 5/6 to 6/- per week of 42 hours. This is a less wage than a girl of the same age would get in departments where she is not learning a trade. We have not found that this modified form of apprenticeship is an efficient way of training taken by itself, and we have therefore supplemented it by a course of special trade classes in card-box making. These classes are held in the department itself, where the student is surrounded by the machinery and tools that she will use in her ordinary work, and therefore the student is more likely to apply the lessons learnt there to her everyday work, than if they were learnt in the surroundings, necessarily somewhat artificial, of a trade school and then applied in the workshop. The head of the department acts as teacher of the practical classes, and these classes are supplemented by lectures on the manufacture and properties of paper and cardboard, which are given by the firm's buyer of these commodities, who has made a life-long study of them. Therefore the course is truly educational, not merely a training in manual dexterity and time-saving devices, and it aims at giving the students an interest in, and a knowledge of, the materials which they have to use.

During the session 1911-12 elementary classes alone were held. The girls received practical instruction in the fundamental operations of hand box-making. Right methods of working were substituted for wrong methods which the young girls had picked up; the students were practised in the detection of errors committed in previous operations, such as cutting, marking and staying; manual dexterity was acquired in some of the operations which present difficulties to the learner. It was found advisable to devote the whole of one lesson or more, as the case might be, to mastering one operation. Only at a later stage did the student make a box throughout.

During the present session junior and senior courses are being held. The more advanced syllabus includes, in addition to the foregoing, boxes of various shapes; the complete construction of more complicated boxes, and additional practice in difficult operations. The correct naming of parts of boxes, the right temperature and consistency of glue and its proper application to

the material are dealt with, and other matters of interest relating to the trade are also considered.

In the lectures on paper and cardboard a concise account is given of the nature and origin of the chief materials, and the processes involved, in making papers, strawboards, wood-pulps, greyboards, etc., used in the manufacture of boxes. The lessons are illustrated by means of diagrams of the machinery employed in the mills, and specimens of the raw materials used are shown as well as the finished product.

Simple test questions on the subject matter of the lectures are set, and answered. In addition, the students are taken to a local paper mill, when the chief points of the lectures are emphasized whilst passing through the various departments of the mill.

The girls who attend this course thus know something of the materials they handle day by day in their work, and as a result of the lessons they have a more intelligent interest in what they are doing. They also know something about the physical properties which render certain boards or papers suitable or unsuitable for particular classes of boxes.

Such methods, I think, will obtain efficiency without making the worker merely an animated tool.

REMUNERATION.

The question of remuneration is a complex one. In this department, as in others, we have a minimum which all girls on piece-work should earn, this minimum being advanced on our own initiative as the cost of living increased (from 15/- for girls of 21 years and over in 1901, to 17/6 for girls of 20 and over in 1913, both rates for a 42 hours' week).

The card-box trade comes under the Trade Boards Act, and a minimum rate of 3d. per hour, with certain conditions as to learners, etc., has been fixed by the Trade Board, and where piece-rates are adopted this minimum must be guaranteed. We had always managed this department on the flat piece-rate system, and for some years have made a careful study of the operations involved in the processes, and piece-rates were fixed on the basis of these operation rates. But for some time we were convinced of the failure of this system. Our rates were based on the output of the average worker, not on the fastest; but the girls had an idea that they knew what we expected them to earn, and the fast girls deliberately avoided earning much above this wage. The introduction of new methods or new machines necessitated the fixing of fresh rates, and it was difficult to know when the girls were working at a proper speed or deliberately working slowly. Adjustment of rates were sometimes necessary, and this made the girls fear that increased output would merely mean a cutting of the piece-rate and

possibly harder work for the same wages. These difficulties we have attempted to get over in the following way:—First we make a study of every piece of work and the operations involved to determine what is a fair task for the average operator, so that the rates will not have to be altered unless some new machine or method is employed.

When the Trade Boards Act came into operation one of the directors met the whole of the girls in this department and told them that the firm wished to modify the system of payment. He asked the girls to elect by ballot a committee representing every department of the work, to confer with him and the officials of the department on the proposed changes. There was no stipulation made as to whether the members of the committee should or should not be members of the trade union. Most, however, did belong to the union, and they appointed the secretary of their local branch as secretary of the girls' committee. With respect to the union (The National Federation of Women Workers) it may be interesting to record the fact that one of the directors had taken the chair at the meeting called to form the branch, and he had advised the girls to join. As the director was assisted by members of the staff who were experts, it was made clear to the workers' committee that they were at liberty to call in the aid of their officials and other expert help if they so desired.

The workers' committee considers the matter in its minutest details; they are furnished with the basis of the firm's estimate for piece-rates, and the girls can, if they think fit, check the firm's method of obtaining the basis. Under the scheme each girl is paid a time-rate on the full number of hours worked, this time-rate being the minimum fixed by the Trade Board, and in addition a differential piecework and bonus-rate on work done. Where there is no piece-rate an additional time-rate is fixed. The net result of the time-rate plus the piece-rate is to give the girls about 100 per cent. increase over the minimum fixed by the Trade Board. Thus the Committee had to discuss time-rate where a pieceworker is temporarily on time-rate only, the differential bonus-rate, etc. For example, it was decided that in handwork any girl whose average piece earnings for the quarter exceed the scale-rate by 30 per cent. should receive for the succeeding quarter and as long as she keeps up that standard $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour bonus on the time-rate. Any girl whose average piecework earnings for the quarter exceed the scale-rate by 50 per cent. is to receive for the succeeding quarter and as long as that standard is kept up, a bonus of 1d. per hour on her time-rate.

It was also arranged that during the twelve months succeeding this agreement, piece-rates queried by the girls shall be considered and adjusted if possible each month; any alteration which may be

made to be regulated by the "Median," and when bad rates are increased, excessive rates to be reduced, the object being to adjust, not increase or decrease, wages; a general basis being arrived at. All adjustments are submitted to the committee before being put into operation. Adjustments may also be made under any of the following circumstances: Alterations to, or re-arrangement of workroom, which affect output; alteration in style or finish of boxes; introduction of new, or improvements in existing machines or tools; and if a machine should be speeded up, one-third of net gain to be allowed to operator in revising rates.

After the twelve months provided for in this clause the firm reserve the right to make such revision in piece-rates as they deem necessary, although they offered the girls' committee a three years' agreement if they desired it.

A scale for learners had also to be drawn out, and allowances for girls teaching learners. There was also considerable discussion on the length of time necessary to learn the trade, and it was ultimately unanimously agreed to reduce the period from three years to two, especially as it was felt that the trade classes already referred to had greatly helped the learners to acquire a knowledge of the card-box trade much more quickly. Other points settled were allowances for new work, and rate to be paid for delays due to matters outside the girls' control. The firm retain the right, in the event of the Trade Board revising their minimum rate, to make such alterations as they may deem necessary, but no alteration will be made without consultation with the girls' representatives.

The point I wish to emphasize in this method of fixing wages is that no attempt is made to detach the workers from collective bargaining, but the influence is in the other direction. We work through and with the trade unions. The educational effect on the girls concerned, especially the representatives, must be great, and they are taught to see the employer's side and made to realise the complexity of wages rates. The girls also realise the fact of competition, and that the wages paid to them must bear some relation to the rate of wages paid by competitors, and that the only way we can maintain a higher rate of wages than our competitors is by more efficient management and more skilful workers. They also feel they have some control over the conditions of their work and wages. Needless to say there has been a distinct improvement in output. It must not be thought that either the firm or the workers gained all they asked for, but we came to a reasonable compromise which has been accepted by the whole of the department. The greatest gain has been a growth in mutual respect and understanding between the workers on the one hand and the firm and its officials on the other.

CONCLUSION.

In conclusion—I have endeavoured, though I am afraid in a somewhat disconnected manner, to show in the first place some objections to the Taylor system of management, especially with regard to "the task" wage. In the second place, I have made some tentative suggestions of another way of meeting the difficulty of an adequate output from the employee. We must not forget that, fortunately, the wage-earners in this country are steadily becoming better educated and acquiring a more intelligent appreciation of the industrial system and of their place in it. They think with truth that in the past they have not had a fair share either in wealth or leisure of the immense gain that has been made through the progress of science and invention. But this is not the only cause of the industrial unrest. They want—and surely this is a very legitimate demand!—more control over their own lives. The problem of the future which the capitalist classes have to meet is in the first place a wider and more equitable distribution of wealth and leisure, and in the second, to devise some method by which the workers can have some share in the control of the industry in which they are engaged. The former problem will soon, without doubt, become more acute; the latter problem—*i.e.*, the control of industry—is not so likely to become acute at present. The time for study and experiment, I maintain, is *now*, before the problem becomes acute. Industrial organization is not something fixed and immutable, and our duty is to experiment so that we may accumulate some data upon which the next generation can work.

EDWARD CADBURY.

DISCUSSION ON SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT.

The following notes have been contributed, from varying points of view, in relation to the exposition and criticism of Scientific Management in the foregoing paper. We hope to publish, in the July number of the *Sociological Review*, further contributions to the discussion, together with Mr. Cadbury's reply.

Mr. J. A. HOBSON.

With most of Mr. Cadbury's criticisms of American Scientific Management I agree. From the writings of Mr. Taylor and others it is possible to present a powerful condemnation of its methods on the score of 'driving' and 'speeding-up,' mechaniza-

tion of the worker, excessive appeal to individual gain, etc. Some of the economies, however, practised under scientific management do not appear to involve either an increase of effort in the worker or a loss of interest or initiative. The physiological and psychological tests for selection and for training in the several kinds of work, the correction of customary errors in the handling of tools, the better disposition of tools and materials in the work-places, and the careful time records of each piece of work in its several processes, appear to me to belong to a sound commonsense economy and to make for increased wealth without increased human cost. The dangers, as Mr. Cadbury rightly recognises, are chiefly two: first that the net effect of scientific management may be to damage the worker as a human being by overwork and loss of initiative and interest; secondly, that the system furnishes no real security for the worker, either as an individual or a class, getting, for himself or themselves, any adequate share of the increased wealth produced by the new economies. Though Mr. Taylor and his associates disclaim all idea of driving, and even assert that it would be an unsound economy, this disclaimer does not meet the difficulty. Excessive labour and other damages to workers may in some circumstances be profitable to employers. Under scientific management there is no guarantee that only those economies which involve no increase of human costs shall be adopted.

In the scheme at Bournville, whose operations Mr. Cadbury describes, the point of central importance is the contention that "we have endeavoured to keep in mind that the employee has to be considered as an end in himself; his education has to fit him to be not merely a good workman but a good man." How far is this theory and practice of a private firm compatible with successful profit-making, so as to be held out as an example for general adoption? It is of course true that a firm which, by virtue of its skill of management, size, reputation, superiority in processes, or other advantages, is able to earn higher profits than are necessary to pay the ordinary interest on capital, can indulge in philanthropic schemes for the benefit of its employees as human beings and citizens. Most of these benefits will naturally have some influence in maintaining or evoking a higher efficiency of labour. But it is not clear to me whether Mr. Cadbury maintains that the business advantages of this philanthropic management are such that the ordinary selfish employer, if he understood his real business interests, would practise them. In other words, is there a real and full consistency between high dividends and a management which considers the worker "as an end in himself"? Up to a certain point this harmony is widely admitted, *i.e.* a subsistence wage and an eight-hours day are often admitted as good business. But are all these expensive schemes of Mr. Cadbury good business that comes home in higher profit, or does the firm really take a lower net profit than it could obtain, in order to forward the humane interests of its workers? In the latter case, the common adoption of this humane scheme is impracticable. For only firms screened from the full force of competition, and therefore earning surplus profits, can afford to practise it.

J. A. H.

Mr. G. D. H. COLE,

Author of The World of Labour.

Under modern factory conditions the worker is treated purely as a raw material of industry. Labour is bought in the cheapest market, and, when high wages are paid, they are justified solely on the ground of increased efficiency. But the worker is not the raw material of industry, and labour ought not to be bought or sold as a commodity.

As Mr. Cadbury clearly shows, the system known as Scientific Management has two main aspects. It is first an appeal to the manager to organise his factory more efficiently, with especial regard to the ordering of the human beings who work in it "on scientific principles"; and secondly, a theory of the methods of industrial remuneration most likely to promote efficiency. These two aspects should be kept distinct.

On the former side, Scientific Management contains much that is good, and also much that is old. It may plead in many cases, like Eugenics, the agnostic privileges of an infant science; it may fail, like Eugenics, to convince some of us that the fact that it embodies some true principles, which we knew before, entitles it to rank as a new science. We all admit the need for efficient factory organisation: the novelty, however, is supposed to lie in the application of this principle of efficiency to men as well as machines. Here, too, no one will dispute the value of increased vocational training; but in so far as the differentia of the new science lies in its application of the methods of experimental psychology it is open to criticism. It is highly doubtful if any tests, beyond the crudest physical tests, are really of value; it is more than doubtful if mental characteristics admit of exact measurement. Vocational selection, where it has succeeded, has been, as Münsterberg admits, the result far less of scientific method than of the selector's individual commonsense.

Scientific management advocates not only vocational selection, but also vocational training. Here Mr. Cadbury well points out the value of proper technical training on the one hand, and the danger of further sub-division and mechanisation of industrial processes on the other. At the same time, there is little doubt that, if the more mechanical method is, in the long run, the more economical, it will be adopted, unless an economic revolution displaces the profiteer. The fact that it destroys the personality of the worker will not for a moment count with the employing class as a whole. If a few adopt the more economical method, the rest will be forced to toe the line. And, however true it may be that in certain specialised trades it pays to develop the worker's individuality, it is far less arguable that this is so for industry as a whole.

Mr. Cadbury has been to a great extent successful in adopting those elements in scientific management which tend to develop the worker's personality. He has done nothing to show that what has paid him in his specialist trade will pay employers generally. His experience points rather to the view that his experiments have paid

largely because he is almost alone in the field and has a wide range to choose from.

It is therefore to be feared that, in industry generally, scientific management will take rather the opposite line of development, and will make the worker's life more monotonous. It will increase his efficiency, and attempt to compensate him for speeding-up and wear and tear by premium bonus systems and the like. It will be very difficult for the Unions to resist the new processes; the bonus systems they can resist. If they are driven to accept increased mechanisation of their daily work, they must secure at least that their wages are raised directly, and not on any bonus system. All such systems have been clearly shown to be fatal to effective Trade Unionism.

Mr. Cadbury seems to think that the growing demand of the workers to control their work can be met by such methods as his own without a radical change of system. I do not believe this. I believe that the struggle between employers and employed, in the great industries at least, will grow more acute, and that it will end in the entire abolition of the employer, and in the assumption by the workers, in partnership with the State, of the full control of industry. I admit that this might be prevented were all employers in a position to be as good as Mr. Cadbury; but I believe scientific management will take the easier path, and, in the pursuit of profits, bring about its own downfall. I doubt if, under the present system, 'enlightened' employment is possible for more than a small minority of employers.

G. D. H. C.

Mr. WALTER HAZELL,

*Chairman of Hazell, Watson and Viney, Ltd., London
and Aylesbury.*

I am obliged to the Editor of the *Sociological Review* for the opportunity of contributing to the symposium on the above subject. I have read Mr. Richard Cadbury's paper with much interest. I have also read his book entitled "Experiments in Industrial Organisation," which ought to be studied by all large employers with a conscience. Further, I have read Mr. Frederick W. Taylor's book upon "The Principles of Scientific Management," which Mr. Cadbury takes as his text.

Mr. Taylor, as an American, has again placed us under an obligation to that country for new ideas upon an important question. The economic results of his methods are so startling that one questions whether he has been able to put all the data before the reader. There is little doubt that his studies tend to a great increase in the quantity of work turned out, but on page 71 we are told the scientific handling of pig-iron reduced the number of labourers to about one-fourth, while the earnings of the survivors were increased from \$1.15 to \$1.88 per day, and yet the cost of handling dropped to much less than half. Again, on p. 95 there is an interesting story of 120 girls inspecting bicycle bearing-balls.

After scientific handling had been introduced 35 girls did the work of 120 with two-thirds more accuracy, with hours reduced from 10½ to 8½ per day, and wages increased from 80 to 100 per cent., and with great economy to the employer. In both these cases one imagines that the old management must have been exceptionally lax and incompetent even for rule-of-thumb methods. These two experiments resulted in a large number of employees losing their jobs, and this taken by itself is a great evil. Probably similar changes in this country would have come about more gradually owing to our slower ways, and no such sudden displacement of labour would have happened. Even going slowly has its advantages!

If workers are displaced by better management they are in the same position as those displaced by new machinery. I wish it were practicable for new inventions to compensate those who are for a time unemployed. Mr. Cadbury appears to believe that the workers might be permanently injured by these methods. I do not think so. If, for example, the cost of building could be halved, surely the difficult problem of rural housing would be met and more builders' workmen than ever would be wanted.

The scheme means more sub-division of labour, which would tend to make work still more uninteresting, but it needs so much more supervision that many intelligent working men would find openings as organisers and administrators generally. Mr. Cadbury's firm are carrying on scientific management in an admirable way, and Mr. Taylor's scheme appears to be somewhat the same idea under another name. A careful study of an individual's fitness for certain work ought to be a great social benefit by putting people to work for which they are naturally fitted by their temperament. Better organisation and larger output need not mean more strain but rather less: *e.g.*, some early scientific manager found that carrying a pail of water in one hand was more strain than carrying a larger quantity in two pails upon a yoke. The system would need to be carefully watched, as no right-minded person wants workers to be overstrained or not to get increased benefit from improved machinery and methods. Larger output with larger wages for a time ought not to be neutralised by cutting wage rates later on.

I greatly admire Mr. Cadbury's methods of selecting bright, clever and well-educated girls, but I fear that much manufacturing work to-day is so monotonous that there is not sufficient scope for individual brain power in it. The evil is obvious but the remedy is difficult to find. I still think that both Mr. Taylor's and Mr. Cadbury's systems deserve the most careful study by employers and employed. They should not be worked for greater output only, but also for the social and material benefit of the employees. To secure these ends for them there is needed the continued power of collective bargaining and the development of the Trade Boards Act, enlightened public opinion, and last but not least, employers who realise that it is a duty and a pleasure to make the well-being of their employees their aim and not merely to work for their own profit.

W. H.

Mr. C. G. RENOLD,
of Hans Renold, Ltd., Manchester.

I HAVE read Mr. Cadbury's paper dealing with Scientific Management with the greatest interest, and would like to contribute something from my own experience to the discussion of the subject.

For two years past I have been connected with the introduction of some of the methods of Scientific Management into a manufacturing engineering works employing about 1,000 people. Although we have not as yet gone as far in the direction of Scientific Management as Mr. Cadbury has done, we have satisfied ourselves of two things:—

- (1) That the increased productivity claimed for the system is borne out by experience, and is more than worth the expense involved.
- (2) That the system can be adapted to English engineering conditions.

On both of these propositions the English engineering press has been sceptical.

In dealing with this subject I consider that most people make a mistake in treating Scientific Management as though it enunciated principles quite new and different from any in operation hitherto. This is obviously not the case. For many years works jobs have been closely studied, workmen have been carefully selected, detailed instructions for doing work have been given, tools and appliances have been standardised, even "functional" foremen—notably inspectors—have been used. The principles underlying these schemes have long been at work to a greater or lesser extent, though, generally, not all in the same works. The novelty of Scientific Management lies, not in the fact that these principles have been set to work, but that they have now achieved consciousness. They have become objects of study in themselves, and their scope and relationships have been investigated.

It is true that the conscious recognition of these principles produces a works organisation very different from the older types; but the question before the industrial world is not the adoption or rejection of the principles of Scientific Management—these have been accepted piecemeal and unconsciously long ago—but the means to be taken to overcome the objections inherent in the type of organisation produced. Scientific Management is the inevitable result of past and present industrial evolution, and it is too late now to discuss whether or not it shall be tolerated. By implication it is here already, and all we can do now is to study how to turn it to the best use of the community. Mr. Cadbury points out two serious objections to the system. These are:

- (1) A tendency to increase the monotony of work and to reduce the initiative and responsibility of the workman.
- (2) A doubt as to whether wages will be increased in the long run.

Taking the question of monotony first: The specialisation of jobs, which is responsible for monotony, is not a new force introduced

by Scientific Management but has been at work throughout the whole course of the industrial development of the last fifty years. In the engineering trade the all-round mechanic had already disappeared before the system was heard of in England. Scientific Management may carry this specialisation further still, but it introduces another force which tends to counteract the cramping effect of this on the man. To simplify a job is not necessarily to condemn the skilled man who did it previously to less skilled and more monotonous work. Often the studying and specialisation of a job simplifies it to such an extent that it can be done by a less skilled worker, and for him it may actually be an improvement in grade of work. This has been our own experience so far, and we have also found that the skilled men so displaced have all been required for work of a still better grade than that from which they were taken. I refer to such positions as inspectors, machine setters, time-study men, leading hands, etc., of all of which a greater number are required under the system than heretofore. Whether this relative redistribution of men and work will in the long run meet the objection, it is as yet too early to say. The system, however, makes possible another solution of the difficulty, *viz.*, a comprehensive scheme of transference and promotion of men from one kind of work to another. This was difficult in the past, because the knowledge and skill needed for any particular kind of work was not easy to come by. But under Scientific Management this knowledge is vested in those who control the factory, and they also have at their disposal the means of imparting it through the organisation of foremen trained for that purpose and through the detailed instructions we have heard so much about. There is still a third influence at work tending to reduce the amount of monotonous work to be done. The careful studying and costing of jobs required by Scientific Management will lead in more and more cases to the introduction of automatic machinery so that many of those jobs which hitherto were the most monotonous will disappear entirely. Mr. Cadbury seems to suggest that the increase of machinery would in itself be an objection to the system, as likely to diminish the demand for labour. Surely the history of industry shows this to be a fallacy, and that in the long run the replacement of hand operations by machine operations has led to such cheapening of products and consequent increased demand that the amount of labour employed has been increased rather than diminished.

With regard to the effect of the system on wages in the long run, it is too early to speak from experience. I would suggest, however, that the increased productivity, both of labour and machinery, will at least make the paying of higher wages possible.

Thus, to both of the objections raised I believe the system offers its own possible answer. But this fact does not of itself ensure that the objections will be met in actual practice. For this we must look to the workmen's organisations, and it seems very probable that Scientific Management will increase rather than diminish their bargaining power. When all the elements, movements, and times for doing a piece of work have been studied and defined, it becomes possible to negotiate between employer and employee

as to what shall be the wages for doing that work in a way which is quite impossible under the old system. Mr. Cadbury seems to have done this in his own case with extraordinary success. He is to be congratulated on having seen the dangers of the system and provided for them adequately, both by throwing the settlement of terms of work open to free discussion with his employees, and by establishing a comprehensive system of education which provides a ladder of promotion for those who choose to use it.

C. G. R.

Mr. W. H. JACKSON,
of Hans Renold, Ltd., Manchester.

Of all the questions relating to Scientific Management raised by Mr. Cadbury, those of widest public interest are probably :

- (1) What will be its effect on wages?
- (2) Will the monotony of work be increased?

(1) Mr. Cadbury points out that the fact of higher wages being paid by a few firms is no proof that the general level of wages will be raised when the new methods are adopted all round. Higher wages may have been paid either as a merely temporary move in order to make it easier to start the scheme or as the result of a demand for more skilful or more strenuous work, and in neither case is the general rate necessarily increased. Nevertheless, whilst waiting for the conclusive verdict based on experience, the following considerations would lead us to anticipate a general increase in wages, as the result of the general introduction of Scientific Management. In the first place its effects must be very similar to those of the introduction of machinery, and it will not be denied that the tendency of the latter has been to increase wages, not to decrease them. In the second place, if we describe this increase in general terms as due to the increased productivity of labour, there is a second source of increase, arising from the standardisation of work made possible by Scientific Management. Such standardisation makes the free and open discussion of wage questions easier, as may be inferred from the committees for sanctioning wage rates, which Mr. Cadbury describes. The bargaining power of the worker and the force of public opinion will, therefore, be considerably increased, and accordingly wages will tend to rise. The relatively high wages in the cotton industry are generally attributed to the extent to which the details of the various processes have all been standardised. Lastly, not only is the general rate likely to be increased but individual cases of very low wages will be less likely to occur because comparison between different firms will be less difficult than at present.

(2) It seems to be generally accepted that Scientific Management means more monotonous work. The following considerations, based on personal observation, tend to oppose this view.

First, there is a quite new scope offered to those who absorb the elements of scientific method; secondly, the standard of general education required by those who work to detailed written instructions is higher than that required at present from the bulk of unskilled operators; and lastly, the very monotonous work will more and more be done by automatic machinery rather than by hand. This last consideration does not apply, however, to office work; here standardisation undoubtedly increases the monotony if the daily task is never varied, but on the other hand makes it very much easier than before to give change of occupation.

W. H. J.

THE FIRST DECADE OF MODERN EUGENICS.¹

IF we look back, even to the history of thought in our own species, we find abundant records of the forerunners of what we now call Eugenics, not least in association with the great religions. It would be possible, if one knew enough of Confucianism, to demonstrate that there were eugenic principles there. They are most conspicuously to be found in Moses, and there are certain commandments of the Decalogue which are quite clearly eugenic in consequence, and to which we must refer as part causes of the existence of such valuable aids to contemporary eugenics as Professor Bergson and Professor Ehrlich; and Lycurgus was conspicuously a eugenicist in result, although his method, which involved killing, was not eugenics as I, at any rate, understand it. In the last century, to say nothing of other authorities in antiquity to whom Darwin refers (Plato is notable in this connection), writers such as John Ruskin repeatedly preached high, pure, admirable eugenics; so did Herbert Spencer, as for instance, in his little book on "The Study of Sociology." Walt Whitman preaches pure eugenics repeatedly, and to come over to this side of the Atlantic, I can quote a few lines from the book on the "Criminal Responsibility of the Insane," written in 1856 by Dr. Caleb Williams, my grandfather (*vide* the passage beginning: "The hereditary transmission of disease and the occurrence of the same disease in several members of the same family," &c.).

But it was Francis Galton, the author of "Hereditary Genius," of which I do not even possess a copy because it is still out of print, who in 1869 raised this question to a new plane, and who in 1883, in his "Inquiries into Human Faculty," a volume reprinted in Everyman's Library, first used the word Eugenics, which is now, therefore, rather more than thirty years old. The world was not ready for the idea, and it was not until 1904, just a decade ago, that Galton emerged from his retirement, and then, though far on in the ninth decade of his life, gave before the newly-formed Sociological Society at our request a lecture on "Eugenics, its definition, scope and aims." The definition which he then gave was, in my judgment, by far the best that exists, and much superior to that which Galton himself later substituted. He said: "Eugenics is the science which deals with all influences that improve the inborn qualities of a race; also with those that develop them to the utmost advantage,"—a phrase which includes the whole

1. A lecture delivered before the Sociological Society, February 24, 1914, and on March 26 before the Royal Institution.

of nurture from beginning to end. The reference to the influences that develop to the utmost the inborn qualities of the race suggests to us that Galton did not want merely the hereditary potentialities, but he wanted those potentialities to become real and actual and effective. In *Sociological Papers* for 1904 you will find some remarkable communications from authorities, but the audience was very small, smaller than the one I am now addressing, and very little notice was taken at that time. After further valuable communications to the Sociological Society, Mr. Galton, as he then was, very soon endowed eugenics in the form of a scholarship at University College. Very industrious and interesting work has been done there since by Mr. Schuster, the first Eugenic Scholar, and later by Dr. David Heron; and in 1907 and 1908 it was my privilege to discuss eugenics, though the word did not appear in the titles of the lectures, before the Royal Institution.

Sir Francis Galton, shortly before he died, wrote his beautiful and fascinating and ever-to-be-returned-to book, "Memories of my Life," quite the nicest autobiography, surely, that was ever written, because it is perfectly candid, and, though perfectly candid, includes nothing disagreeable, because there was nothing disagreeable in the writer. It reveals the character of this man, who illustrated the truth that, as I say so often, "Youth is a state of the soul." I knew him only in his ninth decade, but he was always the youngest man there, wonderfully enthusiastic and yet with all the great qualities of age. His entirely characteristic complaint of old age was that it had almost all the advantages except that one was not sufficiently criticised by one's juniors. He died in January, 1911, and left very nearly all his money to eugenics at University College, London, founding the Chair now held by Professor Karl Pearson. In the portrait by the late Charles Furse of this noble and venerable old man you may see hereditary resemblances, allowing for the different disposition of the facial hair, to other members of the illustrious Darwin stock to which he belonged—the eyebrows and the formation of the bone over the eyes, and the shape of the head. He had a lovely low-pitched voice, and though he was intensely deaf physically, he had no spiritual deafness whatever; he was always prepared to listen to new truth. We shall not look upon his like again, and eugenics has greatly suffered by his death, though he was within three weeks of his ninetieth year when he died. A short time ago the Eugenics Education Society had the admirable notion of perpetuating the birthday of Galton in the form of what they call Galton Day, and on February 16th, the 92nd anniversary of the birth of Galton in 1822, the Society held the first Galton Anniversary Lecture. It was delivered by Sir Francis Darwin, his relative, with another relative, Major Leonard Darwin,

in the chair. The great interest and importance, I think, of that lecture was that we had a Darwin and a relative of Galton saying that the Galtonian method of studying heredity must now be abandoned, and we must substitute for it the Mendelian method of studying heredity, the facts of which, said Sir Francis Darwin, could no longer be disputed. I welcome that statement, coming from a son of Charles Darwin, as of the very greatest importance for the future development of eugenics in this country.

The next record I want to refer to is the development of eugenics upon its popular side. It is astonishing how many societies have been founded in many parts of the world. I do not say that the activities of those societies, or that all the things said in discussion at all the meetings of all those societies, are invariably based upon the sound knowledge that would lead to desirable practice; but at any rate the matter is being discussed. The first society to be founded for the service of race hygiene was in Germany, I believe, but shortly thereafter the first society with the title of "eugenics" in its name was founded in England—the Eugenics Education Society, and after a period of characteristic caution Mr. Galton became its honorary president. Its first president was Sir James Crichton-Browne, and its second the late Mr. Montague Crackanthorpe, K.C., whom Major Leonard Darwin succeeds. There is now a society in Ireland, there is a society in New South Wales, in New Zealand, a very important body (to which I shall refer later) in the United States of America, the society I have already referred to in Germany, the Société Française d'Eugénique in Paris, societies or committees in Italy, Belgium, Denmark, Holland; and in all quarters of the globe, north and south of the Equator, there are bodies of persons who are interested in this matter. Some important publications are also now to be had. In England we have the *Eugenics Review*, started in April, 1909. Sir Francis Galton, as he had become, contributed to its pages the last of his papers upon this subject, which he had begun to discuss as far back as 1865 in his articles in *Macmillan's Magazine* on "The Heredity of Ability." Then the French publish every month their journal *Eugénique*, which contains the reports of the meetings of their interesting society. The Eugenics Education Society inaugurated and carried through with remarkable success the First International Eugenics Congress in London in 1912. The Papers are to be obtained under the title of "Problems in Eugenics." It was a most valuable and excellent occasion, and it was a great privilege to be there; and, having said so, one may also say that there was a most astonishing amount of obvious nonsense talked in every possible direction, and, so far as one could judge from what one saw of the Press, almost nothing but the nonsense was reported. The Second International Congress is to be held in

New York in September, 1915. The French would have welcomed the privilege of having the next Congress in Paris, but they have not yet got the machinery for carrying such a thing through, and so I understand we are to go to America.

In this lecture, the most important thing, I think, that needs to be said has already been hinted at in the passage I quoted from Sir Francis Darwin's First Galton Anniversary Lecture. It is really that we have, as eugenists, to reconsider a good deal of the older scientific beliefs upon which our practice—for eugenics is a practice—is to be based. When Galton read his first paper to the Sociological Society—that historic paper—Mr. Bateson, who is now Professor of Physiology in the Royal Institution, sounded a warning note. He hinted that the actuarial study of heredity had attained remarkable results in the hands of Mr. Galton himself, but that means of attacking the problem directly and with greater effect were already well developed. He proceeded to say that the actuarial method would perhaps continue to possess a certain fascination in regions of the inquiry where experimental methods were still inapplicable—for instance, I am sorry now to comment, in the case of tuberculosis, leading to conclusions which, I believe, are worse than worthless—but that conclusions drawn from facts not capable of minute analysis are at best to be regarded as interim conclusions waiting a test which in all likelihood they will never endure. That test they verily have not endured.¹ We of the Royal Institution are well aware how much water has flowed under the bridges since Professor Bateson spoke those words ten years ago, and how actual means of knowledge have accumulated under his direction and in his hands in respect of the fundamental science underlying eugenic practice, to which he has given the extremely convenient and proper name of Genetics.

We come now to the work of Mendel. Gregor Mendel did his useful work as far back as 1865, in the very year in which Galton was writing about heredity in *Macmillan's Magazine*. He was appointed abbé in the monastery of Brunn; he gave up all his scientific work, he lost heart in the matter, and he omitted to do even the one easy thing which he should most assuredly have done—write to Darwin. If he had only sent a copy of his paper (which is reprinted in Professor Bateson's now classical work "Mendel's Principles of Heredity"), in a separate envelope to Charles Darwin, as Wallace had done a few years before, I believe we should know more to-day about human heredity and heredity in general than we shall know for many years to come. But Darwin died without ever having heard that a man called Mendel had ever lived, and

¹ See *Sociological Papers*, 1904, p. 64.

we have had to wait till 1914 for a son of Darwin to say that it is with Mendelian heredity that we must now make a fresh beginning. Mendel died in 1884, two years after Darwin's death, and it was not until 1900, barely 14 years ago, that his paper was re-discovered. It had been sent to various places—I daresay it was sent to the Royal Institution—but apparently no one had troubled to read this obscure production coming from an out-of-the-way part of the world, and it was not even known that the work had been done until it had been done for 35 years and its author had been in his grave for 16 years. We are now in a new epoch. Professor Bateson was appointed in 1908 to the Chair of Biology at Cambridge, and his inaugural lecture on "The methods and scope of Genetics" is well worth reading. That chair no longer exists, but Mr. Arthur Balfour has lately founded in its place a Chair of Genetics, which is held by a pupil of Professor Bateson, Professor Punnett. He has to range over the whole gamut of bi-sexual life, but the time is coming when we shall have to endow Chairs of *Human* Genetics, for eugenic purposes, in Cambridge and elsewhere. The Americans have gone very rightly ahead in this respect; I suppose largely because they were unhampered by the development of the subject. They had known nothing of that personal allegiance to Galton which all of us must feel who have been in the presence and the confidence of that noble man, and therefore it was easy for them to make a fresh beginning, and they did so on Mendelian lines. There already existed the American Genetic Association, which publishes the *Journal of Heredity*, and which founded in 1910 its Eugenics Record Office. (I am rather proud of the date, because my book on eugenics, which was revised by Mr. Galton, and was the first to introduce the subject, was published a year before in America, as here.) In 1910 they set to work to study eugenics, on Mendelian lines. A munificent lady, Mrs. Harriman, has given very large sums of money, and the work is done on a scale and with resources which have no parallel whatever either in this country or in any other part of the world.

A prime demand of the Mendelian method is that we must study more than two generations. We must study at least three generations—that is absolutely fundamental. Here you have many more than two or three generations studied (Lantern slides shown.) All those figures refer to individuals fully discussed, and this is a record of a particular family with a very disastrous history. All those individuals have been actually seen and studied at first hand by the field workers trained by Dr. Davenport at the Eugenics Record Office. All such work will need to be done again, for a reason to which we shall shortly come. But it was good pioneer work. A great deal of faith and a great deal of ability were put into it, though I fear, considering that all the inquiries were

neurological, that the measure of clinical skill in neurology was somewhat deficient, and that mere names have too often been used where it was supposed that things were being referred to. "Epilepsy," "neurasthenia," "mental deficiency" and other terms which cover a great variety of realities have been used with inadequate analysis, but still the work done was very fine. Nothing like it had been done anywhere else, with the exception of Lundborg's work in Sweden. Results were thus obtained which, whilst they can only be looked upon as preliminary, carried us far beyond anything yet obtained in this country or anywhere else in the study of human genetics. My friend Dr. Kerr Love of Glasgow, who has long devoted himself to the study of deaf children, has carried this work on, thanks to the generosity of Mr. Leo Bonn, who in London founded the National Bureau for the General Welfare of the Deaf. Mr. Bonn has given many thousands of pounds to that bureau, and he made it possible for Dr. Kerr Love to do a great deal of valuable work in the study of deaf-mutism. On my advice, Dr. Kerr Love began by studying everything the Americans had done. He got hold of the American method; he saw its soundness, and then he saw its unsoundness; and he saw there was not sufficient clinical knowledge there, that all the workers taught to construct pedigrees were not sufficiently trained to distinguish, for instance, between one type of epilepsy and another type of epilepsy which might be quite different in origin. He attempted the problem of deaf-mutism, to which he has devoted his life, with the Mendelian clues but with his own profound clinical knowledge, and with the addition of a special test for the existence of inherited disease which the Americans did not employ. The Wassermann test, as we call it, was not used by the Americans in any of their work, and I am afraid that what they have done, from beginning to end so far in the study of neurological genetics, requires to be re-done with the addition of the Wassermann test. We do not know how much of such pedigrees is really genetic, so to say, and how much is inherited infection—a fundamentally different thing. Dr. Kerr Love has done superbly that work for deaf-mutism, and he is now being followed by other workers in Glasgow and all over the world. The most recent application of the Wassermann test to cases of mental deficiency has compelled us to realise that even the excellent preliminary work done by the Americans is quite inadequate in this connection. In this country valuable pedigrees have been collected by the late Mr. Nettleship, by Major Hurst and others; and many of them have been shown at the Royal Institution by Prof. Bateson. Major Hurst was the first to show that the Mendelian principle applies, in some degree at any rate, to man. He did so in respect of

eye colour, and although that is now several years ago, I believe that, with amplifications, his results were absolutely accurate, and that the inheritance of the pigmentation of the back and front of the iris of the human eye follows substantially the same laws as those which Mendel elicited for the pea very nearly half a century ago. This work of Hurst's has been confirmed by Davenport on the other side of the Atlantic, and it led the way onwards to the study of such Mendelian inheritance in man as may bear upon eugenics. Of course, eugenics is not concerned with such things as eye colour, but there are other cases where eugenics is very distinctly concerned. For instance, suppose it were shown, as the Americans thought they had shown, that mental deficiency is a Mendelian characteristic like the shortness in the case of the edible pea, then it would have great eugenic significance; and Dr. Kerr Love has shown that the Mendelian principle applies to one form, and to one form only, of deaf-mutism. I have three slides for which I am indebted to the Eugenics Record Office. (Lantern slides shown). In that last picture you see how these field workers, as Dr. Davenport calls them, go into many parts of the United States and pursue their inquiries, beginning, of course, with near New York and then spreading about in various parts following the line of families so as to give as far as possible complete family charts corresponding in some measure, at any rate, to the completeness which Mendel was able to obtain in his study of lower forms of life.

Now, it is unfortunately the case that the Mendelian methods and Professor Bateson's methods in this country are not looked upon with favour by those who have devoted part of their lives to the study of heredity by the method initiated by Francis Galton himself. Indeed there may be a fine quality in the loyalty to that great man which prefers to follow strictly the methods which he initiated, and yet it is also worth remembering that Galton realised the value of Mendelism. Some years before he died, when I happened to mention the subject to him, he said: "I do not question the existence of Mendelian segregation." That elementary fact is still questioned within the laboratory which bears his name. In "Memories of my Life" he writes as follows, and I ask you to observe this; it is Galton writing on Mendel:

I must stop for a moment to pay a tribute to the memory of Mendel, with whom I sentimentally feel myself connected, owing to our having been born in the same year 1822. His careful and long-continued experiments show how much can be performed by those who, like him and Charles Darwin, never or hardly ever leave their homes, and again how much might be done in a fixed laboratory after a uniform tradition of work had been established. Mendel clearly showed that there were such things as alternative atomic characters of equal potency in descent. How

far characters generally may be due to simple, or to molecular characters more or less correlated together, has yet to be discovered.

Those are Galton's own words in which he asserts that Mendel clearly showed that there were such things as alternative atomic characters of equal potency. I beg that you will remember that generous Galtonian passage, lest anyone should suppose that there is any treachery to the memory of Francis Galton in proceeding, as now Sir Francis Darwin has told us we must do, upon Mendelian methods in our study of these matters. No member of the Royal Institution who has heard, now for years past, Mr. Bateson's lectures on this subject can possibly be in doubt that the assertions of the Mendelians correspond to facts which we have seen with our own eyes, which have been handed round for us to look at, animal and vegetable forms which have visible existence, which we have seen together with their parents and grandparents. To be told, as I was lately told by a pupil of Professor Pearson, that those results are mythical, is too ridiculous; and it was very disappointing, after my lecture in January to the French Society of Eugenics, to find that there Mendelism was looked upon as illusory by students, not biometricians but real students of biology, the leaders and founders of the French Society of Eugenics, who have not yet had opportunities of seeing the wonderful new forms of life which, as Professor Bateson once said at a Friday evening discourse at the Royal Institution, have been "created" by the application of the Mendelian method. It was somewhat disheartening to realise that just on the other side of the Channel the whole of the Mendelian results were looked upon as mythical, and I am very glad indeed, for his prescience and unselfish love of truth, that when they come to read the autobiography of our Founder they will find the paragraph which I read to you.

Professor Bateson again in 1909, in his "Mendel's Principles of Heredity," warned men of science that it would not do any longer to go on with the methods which Galton employed, but which now can no longer be looked upon as valuable. Professor Bateson said that our successors would fail to understand how methods so unsound were treated with respect at all by men of science. I am sorry if you feel that I am insisting upon this too much, but if you will have the patience to look into the results which have been obtained by the Galtonian method, and have been widely discussed and argued with notable bearings upon every kind of social questions, upon problems of health and disease, the care of tuberculosis, the control of alcoholism, infant mortality, and so forth, you will realise it as an important matter that the fundamental basis of those researches is unsound. I believe that, at the end of this first decade of modern eugenics, we know very

much less than many thought we knew in 1904, that a great many points on which even Galton himself would have said "Here we have knowledge, here we may advise society," are points on which further knowledge is now, ten years later, required, because, having put our suppositions to the test imposed by the Mendelian ideas, and above all to the analysis required in terms of the significance of nurture as well as of nature, we realise that we have no right to dictate to society on a great many of those matters. When you read, as we continually do read, that eugenists say this and say that, and require such and such a thing, and object to something else, it is not responsible eugenists, or those who have done anything for eugenics, who are necessarily being quoted in that connection. As likely as not it is an enemy in the guise of one of us.

In the syllabus of this lecture I have ventured to put down—in the most inappropriate place in the world—that the motto of institutions is "No new truths wanted." It gets to be remembered that they were founded for certain truths,—which soon comes to mean that new truths are not wanted: hence the motto which I see, in my mind's eye, over the portals of most institutions—not here, where for more than a century new truths of many kinds have been first promulgated. But it is a very general principle, and we eugenists must beware of it. It is an unfortunate thing to have the experience I have had, to realise that just on the other side of the Channel biologists had nothing to say to Mendelism, except that it was a delusion, and further to realise that they accepted as unquestioned the teaching of Lamarck regarding the influence of nurture upon succeeding generations, for which I can hardly obtain a hearing in this country. When I had spent something like a quarter of an hour in my lecture in Paris in showing that as eugenists we must recognise that nurture of the individual affects his or her parental possibilities, and that it was not right to ignore it, I was forcing an open door; every one there took that for granted, and never questioned it for a moment. The countrymen and followers of Lamarck have never questioned for a moment that influences acting on the individual may affect his or her parental possibilities. If only one may contrive that the Mendelian belief be taken over to Paris, and this clause of the Lamarckian belief be brought to London, I believe both countries would greatly profit.

A word now about the "science of eugenics." The term has been employed by Galton himself, but I conceive it to be a term that is useless, and that deals with no existing reality. It is true, and it is important, that in later years, near the very end of his life, Galton used the term "eugenics" for practice, not for knowledge,

not for science. In his very last paper, speaking of my term "Negative eugenics," which I myself define as "the discouragement of unworthy parenthood," Sir Francis Galton, then accepting the term, said: "It is the hindrance of the marriages and production of offspring by the exceptionally unfit." That, you will observe, is practice. The word eugenics means "good breeding." It is doing that which we believe is the finest thing to which we can set ourselves. It is not science, it is not knowledge, but their application. Similarly, in exact analogy, there is no such thing as the science of medicine, but the doctor goes to the sick-room and he practises the art or practice of medicine beside the patient's bed, and his value to the patient (apart from suggestive and "Christian Science" sort of influences) depends upon the extent to which his practice is dictated by knowledge, by certain sciences which are not medical practice but constitute its foundation. For instance, he must know about bacteriology, he must know about physiology, he must be able to tell the knee-joint from the ankle-joint, and so forth, in such a way that he will become capable of serving his patient; and the service performed to his patient is what we call medicine, or the practice of medicine. Further, the practising physician is always at the mercy of the man of science, and when a scientist who never had a medical degree made certain discoveries in his researches, almost the whole of medical practice and the whole of surgery had to be revolutionised, because that man, Louis Pasteur, had changed the scientific foundation upon which the doctor works when he practises medicine. The doctor must always be prepared to have his opinions and his practice revolutionised by advance in the sciences which underlie medicine. Now eugenics is racial medicine: it will be much more, but it is already at least racial medicine, trying to heal and trying to maintain the health of the race as well as the individual; and similarly this practice requires to rest upon foundations. We go back to Confucius and to Moses, and we realise that they had not much knowledge, and that some of their eugenic practices were erroneous, because they did not have the knowledge, though it is amazing to realise how much knowledge Moses had, or acted as if he had. To-day we are gradually accumulating knowledge which will ever more firmly constitute the foundations of eugenics, broad and deep, and I should like briefly to refer to one or two of those.

First, we have to deal with the principles of heredity, named by Bateson "genetics." If in a given case we have no genetic knowledge, then so far as that is concerned eugenics must hold its peace. If it says "You must marry," "You must not marry," "You should become parents," "You should not become parents,"

it will be only in the long run stultified and discredited. I regret to say that it is only in a very limited degree so far that eugenics has any real right given it by genetics to dictate to society, and in a host of respects where people call themselves eugenicists, and profess to interpret eugenics as saying what should or should not be done, they have no genetic warrant. Professor Bateson, five years ago, pointed out that as regards valuable characters in man our genetic knowledge is so small that we have no right to dictate, but that as regards disastrous characters there is a certain amount of knowledge, and that certain forms of vice and defect and disease might be effectively weeded out by the application of that knowledge on the side of negative eugenics. But on the side of Galtonian or, as I call it, "positive eugenics," I do most earnestly say we must beware of going in front of assured genetic knowledge. Some of us have erred, not once or twice, not in small matters but in great and urgent matters, in this respect; we have interfered with useful things, and we have done that which we ought not to have done in many ways, because we have called our prejudices science, and have built what are mere castles in the air for lack of genetic knowledge.

Secondly, it seems to me perfectly clear that for eugenics we are required not to take up the egregious attitude of some eugenicists towards the medical sciences, but we require to use them. A eugenicist going into the problem of insanity, into the problem of mental deficiency, into the problem of deaf-mutism or "paralysis," with no medical knowledge, cannot reach true conclusions. To anyone with the barest rudiments of clinical knowledge, or even, failing that, of common sense, it is obviously unthinkable that he should do so; he does not know that with which he deals. We need the neurologist, and progress will come when the neurologist looks at these matters from the genetic point of view, as he is now doing. At the International Medical Congress a few months ago, in the appropriate section, under the presidency of Sir James Crichton-Browne, there was a paper read by a neurologist from New York who described a rare form of psychiatric lesion which obeyed the Mendelian law in its inheritance. Similarly, there are all the incidents of pathology associated with infection. We find parents and children tuberculous, and all the purely actuarial followers of eugenics say, "This is heredity." Hence no one who is tuberculous or has had consumption in his family, anywhere in his record—in fact, as far as I can see, no one whose parents or any of whose ancestors have ever died of anything, according to some pseudo-eugenic teaching—should become a parent. When you inquire you find that this disease, tuberculosis, is an infection. With exceptions so rare that they are the rarest

incidents in pathology—every one is recorded, and I suppose there are not half a dozen in the whole literature of medicine—no baby is born infected with tuberculosis; and every tuberculous person, with these apparent exceptions, so rare, and even so proving the rule, has been infected by a particular germ. That factor must be taken into account. When, further, we find that the children of tuberculous parents, removed at birth before infection, and taken care of elsewhere without infection, do not become infected, we must look into the matter. When we find that in Copenhagen, and now in this country, it is possible to eradicate tuberculosis from herds of cattle by the simple principle of taking away the non-infected calves from the infected parents, must we not think again as regards ourselves? When Dr. Halliday Sutherland finds, as he did lately at a dispensary for tuberculosis, that about three-fourths of the children of cases of consumption which are infectious, where the unfortunate patient is expectorating the germ, are infected with the disease, but that the children of other cases, where there is no infection because the parent is not yet expectorating the germ, do not have the disease in the great majority of cases, clearly we must consider such facts. Conclusions which are independent of any knowledge of the medical facts must be regarded as unsatisfactory; and a grave responsibility attaches to the authors of certain publications on this subject. The same applies, of course, to the great medical science of obstetrics, and to the care of expectant motherhood. It applies, again, to the question of dietetics. When we learn, as we do, that there are forms of insanity, forms of mental deficiency, which nothing can cure, apparently, no education, no love, no patience, and which might be looked upon as hereditary, which can nevertheless be dissipated as by magic by the use of such a drug as extract of the thyroid gland, then we realise that the problems of pharmacology and therapeutics are also strictly relevant to the problems of eugenics. Some of the most disastrous and lamentable things said by eugenicists in this connection have proceeded from those who had no knowledge of the medical facts involved.

Then, again, consider anthropology. I remember how Dr. McDougall, the distinguished psychologist and eugenicist, and I used to be invited to consult with Mr. Galton nearly ten years ago in connection with his endowment of eugenics at University College. Dr. McDougall lectured recently upon the mind of certain low forms of man, and made out a very good case to show that those low forms were just about as high as any of us. Now all the problems of racial eugenics—the problem, for instance, of our duty from the eugenic standpoint towards the various races in South Africa—must depend, if it is to be worth anything, upon what anthropology reports, not upon prejudice, not upon conven-

tional notions, not upon racial or religious or economic or any other kind of prejudice. We must go to the anthropologists humbly and ask them: "What do you find of the real worth of such and such a race?"—Japanese or Chinese or Spaniard or Kaffir or native of Borneo, or whoever it may be: and only then shall we be able to say what our duties are. Further, the anthropologist must report upon questions of racial intermingling, such as those which are looming more and more upon the horizon in Australia and South Africa and in the United States.

Lastly, there is the science of sociology. It was most appropriately the Sociological Society that invited Mr. Galton to use its new platform to give his eugenic propaganda to the world. Sociology has some knowledge of the fact that the individual does not live for himself alone, but is part of the great social organism; and when so-called eugenists are proposing to do without marriage,—some modern Plato, perhaps, saying that all the babies are to be shuffled at birth so that none of the mothers shall know them, and that the application of maternal prejudice shall be wiped away, and eugenics be able to go forward without it—then the sociologist, who has some notion of the family, some notion of the structure of society and the relation of the family and of marriage to the social organism, will think again. I suggest, therefore, that sociology will be very much required by the eugenicist, and that also when political proposals are made which would involve, for instance, it may be, the gravest injury to real liberty, then the sociologist is urgently required. The sociologist is no less required if we make proposals which are alleged to outrage liberty, and which may seem to outrage liberty, and yet which may be the best friends of real liberty, such as the Inebriates Bill, now before the country. Such are a few of the many questions where foundations of science are required before the eugenicist is entitled to proceed.

I have so much still to say—and I have a minute and a half now—that I will proceed to the first paragraph of the syllabus of my next lecture. Galton dealt with the inheritance of ability. Galton was tremendously able; he belonged to a tremendously able stock; he had a rare combination of qualities, including that gentleness of disposition, that incapacity for losing his temper, which he inherited, perhaps, from Josiah Wedgwood: most or all the descendants of Josiah Wedgwood seem to have it—Charles Darwin, Francis Galton, and so forth. His work was especially directed towards ennobling the mind; for his was the verdict of Walt Whitman: "Produce great persons, the rest follows." And he was ever trying to produce great persons. His book "Hereditary Genius" was published in 1869, and dealt with that matter. It went out of print; Messrs. Macmillan re-published it in 1892, with a very valuable introduction

to the second edition by the author, but that has been out of print for many years. It was out of print in 1904. Mr. Galton himself referred to it as being out of print then, and for many years I have been trying to get a reprint of it. It ought to be all over the world. There are people quoting Galton, calling themselves eugenists, founding and running eugenic societies all over the world, who, as far as I can honestly see, have never read a line of Galton himself. His masterpiece, a classic of science and literature, should never have been out of print, and I am very happy to say that, thanks to the help of Major Leonard Darwin, which I sought from him on Galton Day, Messrs. Macmillan are about to publish a new edition.¹

C. W. SALEEBY.

In a second lecture before the Royal Institution, Dr. Saleeby dealt with the present position of Eugenics and the immediate outlook. The following is an outline summary of the address:—

EUGENICS TO-DAY : ITS COUNTERFEITS, POWERS AND PROBLEMS.

The need to extend Galton's original conception.—Failure of human genetics hitherto regarding valuable qualities.—Their genetic complexity.

Counterfeit Eugenics.—The almost universal misunderstanding of "natural selection."—The "better dead" school.—The champions of the slum-landlord.—Class eugenics.—The defenders of alcoholism, infant mortality, tuberculosis.—Wicked and impudent proposals to abolish marriage and to outrage love.

Eugenics as here advocated:—

I.—PRIMARY OR NATURAL EUGENICS.

(a) POSITIVE : *The Encouragement of Worthy Parenthood.* (The Homing Question.—The words of King George V. : "The foundations of national glory are laid in the homes of the people."—The example of the Duchy of Cornwall in South London.—The redirection of Charity.)

(b) NEGATIVE : *The Discouragement of Unworthy Parenthood.* (The Mental Deficiency Act.—Problems of Insanity, Epilepsy, Deaf-mutism.)

(c) PREVENTIVE : *The Protection of Parenthood from the Racial Poisons.* (Definition and examples of racial poisons.—Contemporary study of alcoholism.—The work of Laitinen in Helsingfors, Mjöen in Christiania, Stockard in New York, and Bertholet in Lausanne.—The Inebriates Bill.

1. The records of modern families in this book must now, in an Appendix, be brought up to 1914 from 1892, by some competent genealogist. I hope Messrs. Macmillan will have this done for us.—C.W.S.

its reintroduction demanded.—Continued neglect of politicians to meet the demand formulated by Sir James Crichton-Browne, first President of the Eugenics Education Society, in 1909.)

II.—SECONDARY OR NURTURAL EUGENICS.

From care of expectant motherhood to education for parenthood.—The Boy Scout movement.—Ellen Key.

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WOMEN IN PRIMITIVE SOCIETY.¹

MOST of us have realised how dangerous it is to make sweeping generalisations on sociological matters, especially with so vast a subject before us. I propose simply to deal with certain aspects of this question of the position of women among primitive peoples, emphasising points which I regard as significant, and in a few cases mentioning the conclusions of certain writers whose opinions are of weight. May I disarm criticism at the very outset by explaining that I have used the term "primitive" in the less restricted sense as applying to peoples who are in a stage of savagery or bordering on barbarism—those whom we term backward peoples, *Naturvölker*.

I. *Social structure*.—We will begin with the more theoretical side of the subject and consider the place of woman in the social structure of the community. Now the community may consist of groups reckoning relationship either through the mother or through the father, or through both—though this last need not trouble us much in the case of savages, as either matrilineal or patrilineal grouping preponderates nearly always.

We see before us in civilised societies such institutions as primogeniture and the English law of coverture, attesting a stage of almost complete male ascendancy: on the other hand, we dip into books of travel or into the immortal *Kim* and we find records of female ascendancy almost as complete. One may leap to the conclusion that in primitive societies woman was supreme, but that she proved unequal to the position and so man came to his own. Or one may have recourse to the *Encyclopædia Britannica* and study the all-too-brief article "Matriarchate," wherein it is stated that "the mother took precedence of the father in certain important respects, especially in line of descent and inheritance. . . . The prominent position then naturally assigned to women did not, however, imply any personal power." According to this description woman does not stand so utterly condemned of inefficiency, for it seems that she is more a connecting link uniting her children to her own clan or group, wherein her male relatives wield the power, than herself the holder of that power. The idea that the women actually ruled is probably due to the rather misleading term matriarchate, which from its derivation (Greek *ἄρχω*, I rule) implies that such was the case. For this reason sociologists often employ instead of matriarchate and patriarchate the terms mother-right and

1. A paper read before the Group for the Study of Women in Society, Sociological Society, March 25, 1914.

father-right. In the glossary to his *Races of Man*, Dr. Haddon¹ describes mother-right as: "A state of society in which there are two or all of the three conditions: (1) descent is reckoned through the mother; (2) on marriage the husband goes to live with the wife; (3) authority in the family is in the hands of the mother, the maternal uncles, or the mother's relatives in general" (p. 116). Father-right represents the converse of conditions (1) and (2), the third being that "authority in the family is in the father's hands."

The Seri Indians afford an example of mother-right in a high phase of development,² all of these three conditions being fulfilled. The Seri inhabit Tiburon island in the gulf of California, a few islets, and a strip of the Mexican coast opposite. Cut off by the sea and by deserts, the tribe lives in complete isolation and is extremely hostile to any aliens who may attempt to establish a footing in its territory. The social institutions have therefore evolved without any modification from outside. These Indians are loosely organised into a number of groups or clans tracing descent through the mother. At present polygyny prevails owing to the fact that there are more women than men, but both custom and tradition tell of former monogamy, with a suggestion of polyandry. Marriages are arranged by the mothers of the parties, the girl herself having power to refuse her suitor. There follows a year's probation during which the bridegroom has to pass severe material and moral tests. He comes to live with the bride's clan and in her hut, and during the period must provide for her entire family in order to prove his skill and competence as a hunter and turtle-fisher. Meantime the prospective bride receives intimate attentions from the groom's brothers—a fact which suggests earlier conditions of polyandry. No ceremonies attach to the taking of the second (or third) wife, who is usually a widowed sister of the first. The matron rules in the home, and the clan-mother keeps order in the clan. Within the hut, which the women erect without help from men or boys, the matron's brothers may claim a place whenever they like, but the husband must occupy the outermost position in the group and act as sentinel. In forming a new ranch it is the matrons who take the initiative, the brothers and husbands following a few days later when the huts have been erected and belongings arranged. In times of stress when hunting or fighting is going forward, the men take the lead and the women have an inferior position.

As an instance of father-right we will take the social organisation

1. I should like to thank Dr. Haddon for his kindness in criticising the present paper and suggesting certain alterations.

2. The following data are taken from "The Seri Indians" by W. J. McGee, *17th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, pt. 1, 1895-96.

of the Dinkas of the Bahr-el-Gebel in the Eastern Sudan.¹ The father is head of the family and rules within it, appeal being allowable, however, to the council of old men. A man's wives, for whom he makes payment in cattle, are regarded as his property and so are all children born to them, irrespective of actual paternity—is *pater quem nuptiae demonstrant*, as in English law. So absolutely is the woman a passive chattel that faithlessness on her part is not punishable, though the male offender must pay compensation in cattle to her husband. The husband cannot break the marriage on this ground so long as the woman elects to remain in his compound.

The custom of "raising up seed" to a man who dies childless has been carried to unique lengths by Dinka law, a male heir being essential, since property cannot pass to a woman except in trust for a prospective heir. As in many other African tribes, a widow's children born however long after her husband's death count as his progeny; if a man dies leaving no male issue it is therefore incumbent upon a close male relative to beget a son for him. But Dinka law goes yet further and provides "for the extreme case of a man's dying childless, or at least sonless, without near male relatives and leaving only widows beyond the age of child-bearing, by allowing the widow or daughter in whom his property may temporarily vest, to contract marriage in his name with a woman who is, by the act of marriage, to become his widow and bear his heir. . . . He is his son by a legal fiction as ingenious as any ever propounded by lawyers of more civilised countries" (Hartland). In two respects, however, the Dinkas show traces of a probable earlier stage of mother-right. First, a man lives in his wife's village till their first child can walk, after which the couple remove to his village²—manifestly a survival of matrilocal marriage under which a man shall "leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife." Secondly, descent is reckoned on both sides in the Dinka table of affinities, any breach of which entails a fine in cattle and a sacrifice of atonement to the ancestors.

I have chosen two extreme cases, which, however, must not be regarded as typical; under mother-right the woman need enjoy no authority—indeed formerly in West Torres Straits, though marriage was matrilocal, once the husband had paid the bride-price for his wife he might kill her if she caused trouble.³ Westermarck

1. The following account is taken from Captain H. O'Sullivan's article, "Dinka Laws and Customs," in *Journ. Roy. Anth. Inst.*, xl, 1910, p. 171. With introd. by E. Sidney Hartland.

2. Cummins, "Sub-Tribes of the Bahr-el-Ghazal Dinkas," *Journ. Anth. Inst.*, xxxiv, 1904, p. 151.

3. Haddon, *Reports of Camb. Exped. to Torres Sts.*, v, 1904, p. 229.

4. *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, i, 1906, pp. 655-7.

considers that the position of women is not really dependent upon organisation according to mother-right or father-right, though where marriage is matrilineal the presence of the wife's relations tends to restrict marital despotism.

II. *Economic position of women.*¹—Among primitive peoples a hard and fast line divides man's work from woman's—which we may observe also in higher stages of culture. Man does what requires strength, violence, speed, while to woman falls the slow, unspasmodic, routine work. Roughly speaking, man's attention is devoted to animal life which is stimulating and yields a rapid and concrete return and involves violent and intermittent activity; he frequently also undertakes the arduous work of felling trees and building the hut. Woman on the other hand devotes herself to the vegetable world; in the earliest stages she collects berries and roots, then she gradually acquires the art of cultivation. Man hunts and fights, woman labours with her hands; man makes weapons and snares, woman makes clothing and objects of domestic use like baskets and pottery, though more rarely we find men working as weavers and potters. A Kurnai tribesman (Australia) once described a man's activities as follows:—"A man hunts, spears fish, fights and sits about." We hear the same story from many parts of the world. On the march the Bushman will carry simply his spear, bow, and quiver, while his wife goes loaded with a mat, an earthen pot, ostrich egg-shells, skin bundles, and the baby. Among the North American Indians, too, the squaw had the lion's share of the hard routine work. Once man had killed his game it was for woman to do the rest—to convert the flesh into food, the skin into clothing. The domestic tasks of fetching wood, grinding corn, tanning hides and, in the main, the preparation of clothing are woman's work. But when it is a question of clothing from the decorative standpoint, it is primitive man, not woman, who stands convicted of vanity—witness the marvellous feather ornaments of South American Indians and Central Australians and the fearful and wonderful head-dresses affected on great occasions by certain Papuans. And these works of art are the outcome of man's originality. In some parts of Africa, too, it is men who dress leather and sew. At a later stage when man has exterminated the game it may be that he takes to domesticating animals; work connected therewith is usually his affair, though the women may help with the young, *e.g.* the Üriankhai of Central Asia with young reindeer.² Or perhaps man may turn to agriculture or industrial pursuits in which at earlier stages women alone engage, and on them he brings to bear the organising force engendered by his male

1. In this section I have found Prof. W. I. Thomas's *Sex and Society* (Chicago, 1907) most suggestive.

2. Douglas Carruthers, *Unknown Mongolia*, 1913, vol. i, p. 234.

enterprises of the past which required concerted action, and in his new field of activity things go forward on a larger scale.

Primitive woman, though undoubtedly a drudge, felt this no hardship. It was only later that man kept her in idleness as a sign of wealth and secluded her by way of self-assertion against others of his sex, relegating her work to slaves. Something must be said in defence of the character of primitive man. He was not merely the slothful overlord of woman. On the path, when she goes heavily laden, he must have his hands free to defend her. And it must be borne in mind that male activities were violent and of a sort to demand great energy, so that men really were exhausted and needed to recuperate, while woman's manual labour did not drain her energies to the same extent. Woman considered it man's part to do deeds of daring, hers to applaud his prowess—note the modern popularity of the military with women.

This primitive division of labour, which arose largely from natural aptitude, became so rigid a custom that a man who does a woman's work is regarded as contemptible and women are the first to object to any breach. Among the Eskimo it is an indignity for a man to use the women's *umiak* (large skin boat), he must always use the *kayak*. In Abyssinia it "is infamy for a man to go to market to buy anything. He cannot carry water or bake bread; but he must wash the clothes belonging to both sexes, and, in this function, the women may not help him."¹ After all one still has a sense of unfitness about a man with a perambulator.

And the marked differentiation in sphere, though it may work out hard for the wife, tends to give her authority in the sphere which is exclusively her own. For primitive woman's home is her castle; there she rears her children, it is the centre of many of her activities, and comes to be regarded as her property. For instance, among North American Indians the lodge itself is absolutely under the wife's control, the husband having no voice in matters connected therewith. Her connection with industry and with land in course of time constitutes her a holder of property. In North America many title-deeds in regard to land bear the names of women as owners, and among the Akikuyu, as we shall see, it is the wife who owns the arable land. In virtue of manufacture and utilisation woman owned the household goods and food stores and controlled them. "She considereth a field and buyeth it; with the fruit of her hands she planteth a vineyard." (Prov., xxxi, 10-24.) So, too, as manufacturer she becomes trader *par excellence*, and often the markets are run by women entirely in certain parts of Africa and Papua; for the women had this advantage, they could trade whereas

1. Bruce, *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile*, iv, p. 474.

the men might fight when different groups came together, and in time of war they counted as non-combatants.

As a concrete instance of the effect upon woman of the division of labour, we may cite the case of the Akikuyu,¹ of whom Mrs. Routledge says: "The stranger passing through the land who sees the women working with bent backs in the field, or toiling along the road with huge loads of firewood, obtains little idea of the home life of a Kikuyu woman, and that little erroneous. The position of such a woman in girlhood, wifehood, motherhood, and old age is in many ways preferable to that of her white sister." (p. 120.) "A woman has no legal status. Theoretically her husband may treat her as he likes, without being amenable to tribal justice; in practice she is protected by her initial value and by tradition. Custom prescribes the line between a man's work and a woman's, and this begins in earliest years,—the little girls make string bags, the little boys herd the goats." The line is not so hard and fast but that a man will sometimes help his feminine belongings. "The plot of ground, or *shamba*, which the woman tends is looked upon as hers; she can take a pride in its success or failure. She prefers to be the owner of a large *shamba*, which can be the envy of her neighbours, regardless of the extra work it may entail. Each wife has her own little granary in which to store her corn; she does not share it even with other members of the same homestead." (p. 121.) They carry very heavy loads of firewood and produce (to which they are inured from early childhood), fetch water, sew skins, help to build the huts and so on, but take their position for granted and feel that all is in the day's work.

Economic conditions certainly do affect the position of women in many cases. Often, though not always, women of hunting or herding people are in a low position (*cf.* the Dinkas) because they do not contribute essentially to the food-supply, whereas with more backward people who live on simple agriculture or collecting, women are better treated. Westermarck cites as an exception to this rule the Kara-Kirghiz of Central Asia, a pastoral people where women have a high status; but possibly this is no exception, since their better position may be due to the important part often played by the nomadic women of the steppes in packing up and erecting the yurt and its furniture as they move from place to place with their herds; the conditions of their nomadism have given to women an improved position.² Before leaving the economic side of the question, it may be pointed out that the dominant position enjoyed by women in polyandrous communities is at root due to economic causes. The custom of polyandry persists among the Lolos,

1. W. S. and K. Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People*, 1910.

2. Paul Bureau, "Les Tartares-Khalkhas," *La Science Sociale*, v, 1888, p. 414.

Mossos, and other peoples of the Indo-Chinese frontiers, among the lower castes of Malabar, the Todas of South India, and others. It looks as if it were the outcome of special conditions where the struggle for existence is severe and it is essential to impose limits to the increase of population. In Tibet polygyny is practised by the wealthy side by side with polyandry; monogamy is the rule among the poor pastoral nomads of the northern steppes.¹ From the economic standpoint polygyny is a distinct advantage to women, as the work is divided between the wives.

III. *The religious aspect.*—The close association of women with agriculture and the crops has sometimes a religious significance which has survived the stage of savagery. The fertility of the vegetable world is somehow connected with that of women. Success in agriculture is then supposed to depend on some magic quality in women connected with the bearing and rearing of children. Some Orinoco Indians said: "When the women plant the maize the stalk produces two or three ears; when they set the manioc the plant produces two or three baskets of roots; and thus everything is multiplied. Why? Because women know how to produce children, and know how to plant the corn so as to ensure its germinating. Then let them plant it; we do not know so much as they do."² And in certain tribes we find special ceremonies connecting the fertility of women with the crops. Dr. Haddon witnessed such a one at Bakaka, British New Guinea, when young unmarried girls wearing numerous grand skirts were taken on to the *dubu*, or platform, which no woman might ascend in the usual course of things. There they removed their petticoats and an old woman anointed certain parts of their bodies with coconut oil in order to ensure abundant crops.³ Some such idea underlies the rural customs of Europe connected with the Corn-mother or Corn-maiden, the beliefs in regard to the Maize-mother of ancient Peru, the Rice-mother of Sumatra and the Malay peninsula,⁴ and the Lady Godiva story too.

On the whole, however, religion tends to degrade woman, regarding her as a polluting influence. Even a Christian bishop at the Council of Mâcon raised the question: Is woman a human being? It was decided in the affirmative.⁵ The exclusion of women from religious rites is very widespread, e.g. in Melanesia, from the shamanistic ceremonies of the Siberian peoples, &c. Her

1. Keane, *Man: past and present*, 1900, p. 180; cf. also Wilson, *A Naturalist in Western China*, 1913, i, pp. 213 ff.

2. Quoted by Westermarck, *op. cit.*, i, 637.

3. Haddon, *Head-hunters*, 1901, p. 218.

4. Fraser, *Golden Bough*, 1900, ii, pp. 168 ff.

5. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, i, p. 663.

sinister influence may affect the pursuits of men: The Watusi of British East Africa, like most pastoral peoples, will not allow her to milk the herds; among the Bechuanas she might not touch the cattle; and she may not enter the sacred dairy of the Todas of Southern India.¹ No woman might come near while a Maori man was engaged in cutting nephrite.² At certain times, when with child, or at childbirth, women are supposed to emanate a baneful energy dangerous to all around them; they might not then touch anything belonging to a man (Austr., Torres Sts., W. Eskimo, Uganda); in many cases they are isolated in special huts; cf. the churching of women. Often the men have to live separately from their wives before going on a war expedition. But by the possession of this mysterious energy woman gains a secret power over her husband. Women become credited with magical powers, especially old women. In Southern Siberia about Tomsk witches are more numerous than male sorcerers, and it was the same in ancient Peru, Babylonia, and mediæval Europe.

In many parts of Australia and New Guinea the exclusion of women from religious ceremonies is very marked, indeed if one should set eyes on the sacred bull-roarer whose sound is supposed to be the voice of a spirit, she would be killed. It is interesting to note in this connection a myth of the Bukaua, German New Guinea.³ Missionary Lehner was told: Once a woman was chopping wood and a little lanceolate chip flew a long way with a humming noise. She was frightened and went and told her husband. He tried to produce the same sound, tied a piece of wood to a string, and swung it round in a circle, and the sound came. He told the other men, and they agreed to kill the woman and compensate the husband with a new wife. Since then the *balum* as producer of the spirit's voice is kept a secret from women. On Yam, one of the central islands of Torres Straits, the myth of origin of the cult of the heroes who were later associated with the hammer-headed shark and crocodile totems tells how it was an old woman out looking for octopus who first saw the two heroes in fish form in the lagoon and told her husband; the men in council in the sacred enclosure adopted them into their totemic cult. Again, when Bomai, the hero who founded the sacred Bomai-Malu ceremonies from which women are excluded, arrived at the eastern islands, it was a woman who discovered him in the form of an octopus.⁴

1. Rivers, *The Todas*, 1906, p. 245.

2. Elsdon Best, "Stone Technique of the Maori," *Dominion Mus. Bull.*, 4, 1912, p. 55.

3. R. Neuhauss, *Deutsch-Neu-Guinea*, 1911, iii, p. 414.

4. Haddon, *Reports of the Cambridge Expedition to Torres Straits*, v, 1904, pp. 64-5; vi, 1908, pp. 38-40.

With primitive peoples religion is a social affair entering very largely into the everyday life and tinging it. Here again we find the line of demarcation between the sexes emphasised. Initiation marks the beginning of this separation between men and women; then youths are segregated, often for months and taught all that it behoves them to know and the mysteries which must on no account be revealed to the other sex or the uninitiated. Ceremonies which take place when a girl reaches puberty are distinctly less impressive than those for boys.¹ As a rule there is no attempt at formal initiation with tribal significance and secret rites; usually the girl is simply secluded in the care of female relatives. Occasionally there are more important ceremonies, *e.g.* the Arunta of Central Australia have rites for girls parallel with the first two stages of those for youths, and some African tribes have elaborate rites obviously modelled on the boys', *e.g.* Bechuana. The Vey girls of Liberia have a long seclusion in the bush from the age of ten, and receive instruction by the oldest women in womanly duties, also dances and songs. Among some north-west American Indians girls are secluded for years in a tiny hut; this seems to be with a view to ensuring chastity, an early assertion of proprietary rights by the future husband. The separation of the sexes finds expression in the existence of the special men's house which women may not enter, except perhaps an old woman or two. The men's house is of very widespread occurrence: we see its beginning in the separate camping-ground for men of the Arunta, and the house itself is found in Papua and Melanesia, in Torres Strait as the *kwod* or sacred enclosure, in Micronesia and Polynesia, among the Land Dayaks of Sarawak, Battak of Sumatra, Igorots of the Philippines, Oraons (Dravidian), in all parts of Africa (Basuto, Masai, Kabyles, Mandingoes), among the Bororo of South America and other Brazilian tribes, in Mexico and Central America, as the sweat-house of north-west America, and as the *kashim* of the Eskimo which at certain times and during certain rites is rigidly closed to women.

Another development, akin to the men's house, is the Secret Society from which in its earlier phases women were excluded. This is very characteristic of Melanesia. On Banks islands no woman may approach the *salagora* or lodge of the secret society, though the women know that the *tamate*, or apparitions sent out for the intimidation of the uninitiated, are men disguised.² The masked figures in the Bomai-Malu cult of Mer, Torres Straits, are supposed by the women to be spirits of the heroes and are a means

1. On the subjects of initiation, men's houses, and secret societies, many points have been taken from Prof. Hutton Webster's *Primitive Secret Societies*, 1908, chaps. i, vi, and *passim*.

2. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, 1891, p. 74.

of terrorising them, the same is true of the *harihū* of Papuan Gulf, British New Guinea.¹

The system of secret societies is very well developed in certain parts of Africa. In the Yoruba villages of the Slave Coast, the famous Ogboni society holds sway; the members are representatives of the god Oro, a great bugbear. They use the bull-roarer, the voice of Oro, to keep the women in subjection. No woman may see the bull-roarer and live. When Oro is supposed to be present in Yoruba towns women must seclude themselves from 7 p.m. till 5 a.m., and on special Oro days they must remain so from daybreak till noon. A few elderly women are always admitted to Ogboni, they are distinguished by cotton strings tied round their wrists; they are supposed never to marry.² Another sort of bugbear for keeping women in subjection is Egungun. The men know he is a mortal, but the women believe him to be a dead man risen from the grave; if they owned to doubting this they would be killed. Among the South Guinea tribes similar societies exist for keeping women under.

But the men have not got things all their own way everywhere. In West Africa there is a flourishing secret society for women, called the Njembe, which admits only women.³ It possesses great power, based on the threatened employment of fetish medicines to injure the recalcitrant. There is a considerable fee for entry. Formerly it was a great honour to belong; now in order to perpetuate itself young women are compelled to enter it if they have derided Njembe. Initiation lasts for two weeks, during which harsh treatment is inflicted. Nothing is known of their rites which take place in a secluded place in the jungle. It is said that they dance nude, and that their songs have vile words. They profess to detect thieves, find out the secrets of enemies, and so on. The original object was no doubt to protect wives from harsh treatment by their husbands, and of course their reputation for magic is a deterrent on men. This description is practically true of present-day conditions, except that white influence has had the effect of lowering the status of the society. In tribes where Njembe exists women are much freer from male control, though its obscenity has not raised them in men's esteem. The secrets of the society are wonderfully well kept; even Christian converts refuse to divulge anything. Among the Vey of Liberia the women have the "Devil Bush" association which enables them to prevent undue tyranny by husbands. If the tribe decides to go to war, the declaration is first referred to the women.⁴

1. C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, 1910, pp. 300-01.

2. Dennett, *Nigerian Studies*, 1910, p. 32.

3. Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, 1904, pp. 249-50.

4. Hutton Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 120, n. 4.

The admission of women is characteristic of the disintegration of secret societies and their conversion into purely social clubs or magical fraternities. For example, the Egbo society of West Africa has an affiliated society for free women and one for slaves, both distinctly subordinate. Women may not attend the Egbo meetings but may buy Egbo privileges. The Lubuku of certain tribes of the Lulua River, Congo, freely admits women, but now it is primarily social; the initiatory rites are highly indecent. The American secret societies frequently admit women—perhaps a late development; their duties in ceremonials are distinctly subordinate among the Menomini and Hopi for instance.

The subject of secret societies, which are to some extent political institutions, leads to our next section.

IV. *The political status of women.*—On this score there is not much to be said about primitive women. One does hear or read of women attaining to power as chieftainesses. During the work of the Border Commission in East Africa for delimiting the boundary between British, German, and Belgian territory, Major Jack stated in a recent lecture that things went smoothly till a Bakiga woman chief stirred up her tribe vowing (like Jeanne d'Arc) that every alien must leave the country. Her rising was quelled and I believe she is now in prison at Entebbe. A District Commissioner in Uganda tells me that in introducing any new measure if the women and the old men can be talked over, the thing is accomplished. In the Bushongo kingdom of the Upper Kasai, Congo, women hold certain offices of state—not of a very dominant character—but then the Bushongo are really a wonderfully advanced people who have come from far away in the north. No doubt a savage woman of dominant character will make herself felt—she can always resort to a little magic to win a position for herself.

Among many North American Indian tribes the women wield great power—the Cherokee, Iroquois, and other Eastern tribes left important matters relating to peace and war to be decided by a vote of the women.¹

Celibacy on political grounds. In Uganda no princess, even if married by the king, might have a child under pain of death, for fear of her son aspiring to the throne. The king always married one of his half-sisters (by a different mother). She shared in the coronation ceremonial and had a court of her own separate from that of the king. But on account of this very power which she exercised she was not allowed to have children, lest her son should use his mother's powers for his own advantage. The king's successor had to be selected from among his sons by other wives, not the queen.²

1. Mooney, *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.*, xix, pt. i, 1897-8, p. 489.

2. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, 1911, pp. 83-4.

Africa yields us an instance of a rather curious function allotted to women, namely a military one. Under the military system of Dahomey the standing army consisted of (1) a female corps known as "The King's Wives" and "Our Mothers"; (2) a male corps of palace guards, etc; and (3), the male population of the kingdom as a sort of reserve liable to be called out. The female corps "was raised about 1729, when a body of women who had been armed and furnished with banners merely as a stratagem . . . behaved with such unexpected gallantry as to lead to a permanent corps of women being embodied."¹ Till 1818, when Gezo began to reign, the Amazon force consisted chiefly of criminals in the Dahomey sense, faithless wives, termagants, and scolds; thenceforward every head of a family had to send his daughters for inspection and suitable ones were selected. For many generations all the hard work had been done by women, and they were of splendid physique. The Amazons were regarded as the king's wives and might not be touched without danger of death. They were sworn to celibacy, but the king might take any of them to wife. Gezo attributed his military conquests to the prowess of these Amazons.²

Agricultural communities consisting exclusively of women have been reported from some parts of the world. They have arisen, it would seem, through spontaneous emigration on the part of the women and derive continuance through periodical visits, usually once a year and lasting a month in spring, by males from outside. Columbus, while coasting Hayti in 1493, heard of one of these communities from an Indian who visited him on board. He reported that the male visitors on their departure took with them the boys born in each interval, the girls being kept to replenish the society. Later accounts, says Payne,³

"afford a body of evidence strongly tending to prove the existence of such societies in the valley of the mighty stream on which these communities have indelibly stamped the name of River of Amazons . . . Women, as the Spaniards often found to their cost, can use the bow and arrow not less effectively than men. In possession of this deadly weapon, as well as of the materials of subsistence, they might easily form independent communities, and maintain them . . ."

"Such societies, however, would perish . . . not from man's hostility, but from his indifference, and his unwillingness to play the undignified part required of him to ensure their continuance; from internal dissension, from ennui . . . Man ultimately comes to an agreement with woman on his own terms. Struggle as she may, she is born for subjection, and will in the end return to her master."

With which conclusion the learned writer changes the subject!

1. A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa*, 1890, pp. 182 ff.

2. Dowd, *The Negro Races*, i, 1907, p. 168.

3. Payne, *History of the New World called America*, 1899, ii, p. 11; cf. also Friederici, *Die Amazonen Amerikas*, 1910.

V. *Family Life*.—Such customs as the sale or loan of wives, their immolation at the husband's death (Africa, India, Fiji, Madagascar), and child-marriage, show the absolute control of the husband in such communities over the person of the wife. Often chastity is regarded as of no account in a girl, but faithlessness in a wife, the husband's property, is a crime. As regards the loan of wives (Tasmania, N.E. Siberia, and many other places), it must be remembered that this may reflect an early social organisation by which certain men, potential husbands, had access to women of certain divisions of the tribe. Though a woman may be owned as property like a dog, first by her father and then by her husband, generally there is some public opinion against too hard treatment of her. For example, among the Boloki of Central Congo a woman (or slave) if driven to desperation will go and break the witch-doctor's saucepan (*eboko*); heavy damages are then required from the husband, or master.¹ In S.E. Africa there are well-defined legal limits beyond which a wife may not be ill-treated, nor may she be re-sold.

The custom of paying a bride-price for a wife sounds worse than it really is. It is simply a compensation to a girl's family or clan for the loss of her labour—after all, it shows that she is valued, and a man is likely to set more store by that for which he has paid a good price. "It does not *eo ipso* confer on the husband absolute rights over her."² It does mark proprietary rights over her, but at the same time if treated too abominably she may return to her people, who will have to give back part or all of the bride-price. Among the Plains Indians of North America, a wife may leave her husband for a lover, provided the latter is able to pay for her. In the patriarchal community, where the family is of greater importance than the clan, the power of the father over the daughter is enhanced, and when he disposes of her to a husband the latter assumes the same control—authority is simply transferred from father to husband. However, the authority of savage husbands over their wives is not always so great as it is said to be. Often the married woman, though in the power of her husband, enjoys a remarkable degree of independence, is treated with consideration, and exercises no small influence over him. Among the Shans of Burma a wife may turn out a husband who takes to drink or otherwise misconducts himself, and she retains all their joint property.³ *Esprit de corps* among women may help matters; among the Papuans of Port Moresby, it has been said, a man rarely beats his wife, for the other women generally make a song about it and sing it when he appears and

1. J. H. Weeks, *Among Congo Cannibals*, 1913, p. 126.

2. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, i, p. 632.

3. Colquhoun, *Among the Shans*, p. 295.

the Papuan is very sensitive to ridicule.¹ As an instance of thoroughly well-treated women, let us take the Veddas of Ceylon, studied by Dr. and Mrs. Seligmann, who write :

"In every respect the women seem to be treated as the equals of the men, they eat the same food ; indeed, when we gave presents of food the men seemed usually to give the women and children their share first ; the same applies to areca nut and other chewing stuffs. The women are jealously guarded by the men, who do not allow traders or other strangers to see them, and those at Sitala Wanniya were too shy to visit our camp, though they welcomed us to their cave, and their dances performed for our benefit took place in the dense jungle so that the women might be present and partake of the food offered to the *yaku* The day after hearing the phonograph at our camp, the men came to us to request that we should take it to the cave as they had told their wives about it, and they all wanted to hear it too. From these examples the position of Vedda women will be understood." ²

It is recognised that Vedda women may become possessed by spirits in the course of the ritual dances. Nevertheless, women are regarded as ceremonially unclean, and the shaman of one settlement kept his sacred arrow (*aude*) and other objects in a place away from home, where their baleful presence was counter-balanced by the presence of cows. (p. 48.) They are strictly monogamous, infidelity on part of either seems to be unknown. (pp. 67-8.) A sixteenth century MS. refers to a woman chief among a list of insurgents. (p. 10.)

Dr. Landtman of Helsingfors, who was recently studying the Kiwai Papuans at the mouth of the Fly river, kindly gives me the following information :—

"Among the Kiwais it is the rule that the women are excluded from participation in all matters of public concern and all public ceremonies of any importance, except those which purport their own initiation ; in connection with the latter they are instrumental in certain sexual orgies. A couple of very old women are, however, associated with each men's house and play a part in the ceremonies which take place there. A woman would be killed in case she would get to know a secret rite, and the same would be the case with the man who would have let her into the secret. The men do not know of the existence of any private rites among the women, and I do not think they can possibly have any, for they could not keep the existence of such secret. But what I believe they have are many private observances of which the men know little or nothing, and they must possess all sorts of ideas regarding many things largely differing from those of the men. I obtained all my knowledge of the women through men. In matters which concern the family the women are nearly on a footing of equality with the men, and on the whole the family life of the natives is very happy, one could often see how contented the women were with their husbands and *vice versa*. The

1. Nisbet, *Colonial Tramp*, ii, p. 181.

2. Seligmann, *The Veddas*, 1911, pp. 88-9.

women enjoy a private ownership of their own things which they have manufactured, or which have been given them, etc."

The position of its women, Westermarck maintains, is no criterion of the advancement of a people. The women of many backward folk (*e.g.*, the Veddas, Andamanese, Bushmen) are treated with greater consideration than is often the case among higher savages and barbarians (*e.g.*, the Chinese). Woman kept in idleness, the chattel of her wealthy lord, is a less important factor socially than the muscular Bantu or Papuan wife toiling away in her garden or tramping home beneath her load of food and fuel.

LILIAN M. WHITEHOUSE.

THE RELATION OF GENIUS TO INSANITY.¹

SOCIOLOGY deals with all that concerns individuals having necessary relations with one another and living together in a community. It has been defined as the science that treats of the origin and history of society and of social phenomena. But it deals also with the progress of civilisation, with educational ideals and efforts, as well as with the nature and development of the laws controlling human intercourse.

The cause and origin of insanity is a subject for sociological study, as is also the relationship between different mental conditions in so far as these may depend upon the manner of life, the custom, the ancestry, and the habits of individuals belonging to a social organism. It may not be inappropriate therefore to discuss under this heading the origin and the relationship of certain mental states or qualities when these are found to bear a direct influence upon the efforts and the actions of others living in the same social group. It is acknowledged that conditions such as the environment do exercise an important influence upon social humanity. If the environment were incapable of influencing the organism, then life would be a mechanism governed by the laws of statics. On the other hand the effect of Mendelian research has been to show that variations in a species may occur irrespective of environmental forces. The kindling of interest through any regenerative cause awakens knowledge, not only in the sociological field, but also in biological, ethical, and psychological directions.

The fact that variations occur in mental endowments was the theme of study a generation or more ago by Sir Francis Galton. He regarded men of genius as sports, for he maintained that no one can acquire, or make himself, or gain by education, the peculiar insight which characterises the creative powers of a great artist, poet, or discoverer. The powers possessed by these are correctly described as "gifts," and they might be considered to be innate characters or intuitions, *i.e.*, mental instincts which, though capable of being developed and strengthened by education or cultivation, are never thus originated *de novo*. The fact that among the inmates of asylums are found, not a few but many, persons who are endowed with rare mental ability, if not with genius itself, has justified Dryden in the lines :

Great wits are sure to madness near allied
And thin partitions do their bounds divide.

1. A paper read before the Social Psychology Group of the Sociological Society, April 28, 1914.

Pascal also remarked that an extreme mind (genius) is akin to extreme madness, that the "bound" was a thin partition. The specific nature of these bounds affords material for a fruitful study, but no writer of note—among British alienists at any rate—has contributed any serious addition to our knowledge in regard to genius, talent, or distinction as related to insanity. Max Nordau, together with Lombroso, contributed some important literature in regard to the degenerate class; whilst J. F. Nisbet, Havelock Ellis, W. H. Mallock, Mark Baldwin, and others, have studied the subject from the psychological and historical side. It would appear from the experience of alienists that the border territory between genius and insanity, or between the sane and the insane, is often very narrow and ill-defined, although, naturally, well-marked and prominent cases are very definite and distinct. Nothing for example, is easier than to classify the extreme degenerate on the one side as against the richly endowed mind on the other; but when cranks and oddities, inspired poets and mono-ideists, anarchists, and misanthropes, and eccentric persons, have to be considered and classified, it is difficult at times to exclude some of them from the types of inscrutable and subtle persons who are best described as having "kinks in their minds" or "bees in their bonnets," or who are, as the East-Enders would have it, "balmy on the crumpet," and for whom the Lunacy Act provides convenient and suitable accommodation. The eccentric person is only an example of the predominance of some factors of the mind whereby an alteration has occurred in the process of association, or one in whom there is a tyranny of certain emotional states, or where there is a defect of voluntary attention or the predominance of automatism causing a want of harmony between the individual and his environment. It is on the borderland of insanity and often is seen in the genius. Upon the assumption that blanks in our knowledge are worse than superfluous information I have attempted to supply some suggestions, but no one will deny that the task is difficult, and most will agree that it is one of great interest as well as of curiosity. My daily rounds through the wards of one of the largest Metropolitan asylums

..... exempt from public haunt
Find tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
Sermons in stones, and good in everything;

and this is the inspiration of my paper. Many of my readers will doubtless be familiar with much that I have to say, but it may be better that a few should meet with what they know rather than that the rest should miss what they may have a wish to learn.

As an alienist I do not claim an exclusive right to consider the complex problems of mind. They are quite as much the domain

and study of the teacher, the spiritual adviser, or even the politician, as they are that of the scientist, the psychologist, or the mental specialist, and as the brain is the organ by means of which we are enabled to exercise mental powers, so the body is the organ by which these are expressed, and observations in regard to the mind not infrequently resolve themselves into those of bodily movements, gestures, or positions. Mental states and habits are imprinted upon the eye or the mouth, or upon general bodily attitudes. St. Paul is probably the best known exponent of Christian philosophy, and he was a psychologist as well as a teacher. In his psychology he taught the tripartite division of body, soul, and spirit, but he nevertheless considered the soul and spirit to be one independent whole, although exercising a double function—this being manifested on the one hand in the department of the mental life, and on the other in the department of the moral and religious. Bergson considers that the body is to the mind what the point of the knife is to the knife itself: it enables the mind to touch reality. The interactionists fail to demonstrate the creation of material energy by conscious processes, and Shadworth Hodgson, as representing the materialists, can hardly claim support when he states that we or our spirit or our mind is at the mercy of material happenings. We cannot yet resolve consciousness into physical and chemical changes in brain cells, of which the calculating American considers there are over 9,000 millions in an averagely developed brain cortex. Although we take shelter to-day in parallelism, there is a growing tendency to revert to the Pauline doctrine, and to regard body and mind as independent actors. Much that has been written of late postulates a mental energy independent of bodily or material energy.

In order to comprehend more fully the title of this paper it is necessary to recall how the brain acts, and by this acting how the mind grows. The moment a child sees or hears something, rays of light or waves of sound have already impinged as impressions or stimuli upon a specially prepared outer organ such as the eye or the ear. These impressions travel along nerves very rapidly in their journey to the brain. The moment they reach the brain they are registered and are transformed so that rays of light are seen as objects and waves of sound are heard as music, voices, noises, etc. In this way the sensations are perceived and they then become perceptions or percepts, which can be revived in memory as concepts and these again as images or *recepts*. The same process occurs with the information conveyed by touch, smell and taste. These then are the operations of the mind in definite order. When the outward stimulus caused by objects has been removed and has ceased to act, the mind has the power to recall in memory the original picture or parts of the percept, and a second picture, a concept or an idea—

weaker, of course, than the first picture is presented to the mind. Some great portrait painters have exhibited this power inasmuch as they have painted their pictures after the sitters had gone. William Blake is an instance of great power in this direction, for he had aural and visual ideas—correctly described as hallucinations—of historical figures from which he painted very remarkable pictures. The mind tends to associate the presentation of the original object with all its combining qualities—a rose may be remembered as of a certain colour and of such a pleasant scent, worn by the object of one's adoration and associated with the sweet words breathed in the intervals of a dance or during the *entr'acte*—so that when a rose is again encountered all the former pleasant associations tend to be revived in idea at the same moment. It is the same with other ideas that occur to the mind; there tends to be an association of the different presentations and combinations of these which can all be revived in memory. Now it is the possession of this association by similarity to an extreme degree that accounts for the ability to create something new out of these ideas, and this is the necessary basis of imagination and the true explanation of genius. Minds which possess unusual energy in association by similarity are exceptional. The flash of similarity between an apple and the moon or between the rivalry for food in Nature and the rivalry for man's selection could only occur to a Newton or a Darwin. William James considers there are two types of genius, one where similarity calls up cognate thoughts—the analysts or abstract thinkers, for instance—and the other where these thoughts are noticed and acted upon—the intuitionists, such as artists, poets, writers, or critics. When an *outward* recollection is revived the term "fancy" has been used for the revival, but when the reference and combination is an *inward* weaving the term "imagination" has been employed, but this is an artificial distinction, and both points arise in considering the essence of genius. Genius is original and inventive; it creates and improves, and its product is the effect of great and unusual power to form new combinations and new ideas or imagery. The man of genius has a clearer perception and reaches this with quicker steps and more rapid strides than the ordinary mortal, who is slower and less brilliant. The person of genius possesses insight—or, as it is called, "inspiration"—and gets to the heart of things and to the very essence of reality without a purposive end independently of training. Training, in fact, tends to extinguish genius, which does not necessarily imply or connote superior intellectual powers; on the other hand, genius is an indication of abnormality, of instability, or of dis-equilibrium, and this is the subject of my thesis. A "mute inglorious Milton" lies in many a churchyard.

I should like to raise the point for discussion at this Society, of which some distinguished psychologists are members, whether genius is controlled by voluntary action. John Stuart Mill used to say that the occupation of the mind was not thinking but dreaming, and George Eliot stated when she wrote a "not-herself" took possession of her. It has been stated that ideas arise spontaneously or automatically in the mind, but that the will fixes the attention upon them and they thus become the absorbing central focus for meditation and reflection. The difficulty in analyzing genius is partly due to the fact that persons who are geniuses are rarely capable of mental introspection and psychological description. Wordsworth, however, describes his own mind and states that his creative power depended upon continued meditation upon themes he had set before himself acting with the influences surrounding him, but neither reflection nor the environment could have made Wordsworth a poet. The faculty he possessed was an inborn gift working either automatically and spontaneously or through the mechanism of the will. It has been stated that the power which Wordsworth acquired was original with Shakespeare. In some this intuition appears to be original and spontaneous, in others to be the result of rigorous and painstaking training. Are we justified in considering the latter to be genius? We know the *will* cannot help us to recollect something forgotten, and that the best way to recollect anything is to go back and dwell upon the idea most likely to suggest it by association. Neither can the will suggest ideas for the imagination, although it can withdraw the attention from ideas which cognition or judgment can make use of. Scott often asserted that the writing of good verses was an act separate from volition, and Shelley stated that the finest passages of poetry could not be produced by labour and study.

Thus it is that the ideas of the creative genius may be controlled, "set going and kept going" by the will, but they must arise automatically and spontaneously, and so the will may do much indirectly in the work of the creative power of genius. Further, it has been stated that genius has an ethical or an æsthetic end, that that there is Truth, or Beauty, or Goodness to be considered. Praxiteles, for instance, is said to have combined the most beautiful parts of the most beautiful figures for his statue of Venus for the people of Cos. Great architects produce their designs in the same way and with the same object, and the great engineers have done the same. Whether the constructive imagination is entitled to be considered in the same class with the creative is a matter for discussion, but great writers like Sir Walter Scott can hardly be excluded from the list of geniuses. Another point which this Society might consider, as it is well able to do, is the effect upon a

community of men of genius, and the influence of great social or political events upon individuals. We know the great height to which men rose in the fifteenth century, whether their appearance was due to the great need of the occasion, and whether an environment can create its own geniuses. I only suggest these points for consideration. Is the imaginative faculty cultivated, invigorated, and developed to the fullest expression by the needs of the time? or are those right who state that genius is un-summoned, in-voluntary, and spontaneous?

The ironical definition of genius as "the infinite capacity for taking pains" confuses genius with talent; and is a "sop to the minnows"! Talent connotes the possession of special aptitudes for some purpose, and implies education. It is very much the result of memory and, as in Macaulay, it was the ready and responsive reaction to education and training. A person may have a talent for the kind of business to which he has been trained but such is not a genius. A carpenter may be talented, but he is not a genius; a musician may be talented, when he is the clever exponent of another's work; but a musical genius is a creator or an originator. A diplomatist may be talented because he is a good tactician, but he is a genius only when he has propounded some great and clever policy which redounds to his country's credit. Talent implies discrimination and a talented person is usually clever, and of good judgment; a genius is often erratic, unreliable, unstable, and irresponsible—George Morland, Robert Burns, Byron, Chatterton, Edgar Allan Poe are cases in point. Many of these and others of their kind betray a real want of equilibrium. They are dreamers and persons incapable of appreciating circumstances at their proper value and incapable of finding opportune adaptations. I am not contending that genius is a morbid neurosis or a neurotic phenomenon, but I do maintain that there are considerable resemblances between the highest mental activity as evidenced in genius and the disordered mind of the insane; both are departures from the normal type, and the territory of the imagination is the common province of both. The conduct and character of any individual, whether sane or insane, is the resultant of his ideative processes, his emotions or sentiments and his attentive or volitional power, and the predominance of one or the defect of another mental activity is reflected in behaviour and conduct. In the genius as in the insane person there is a want of co-ordination of conduct for the end in view, and there is a defect in the proportional relationship between thought and action, with frequently in them an incapacity which in the one case brings the person into the asylum, the other by accident remaining free. In the conversation and declamations of a person in

acute mania the imagination is extraordinarily active; images crowd each other in such rapid succession that words fail to be uttered fast enough to describe them. Like genius, insanity is as impatient as it is highly sensitive. Novel suggestions and situations present themselves so quickly that the rapidity of the conceptual and associative products are those of extreme mental brilliance, ability, and power. In acute insanity, as in genius, the perceptions are quicker and the associations keener. Wagner, for example, composed some of his best music when suffering from melancholia; Ruskin is stated to have been more interesting, as well as writing better prose, when suffering from sub-acute mania, and Cowper wrote "John Gilpin" when suffering from acute depressive insanity. I have played billiards for three hours continuously with a university don suffering from sub-acute mania, and during the whole of this time his conversation was brilliant and epigrammatic. He composed and recited stanzas of poetry which were most apt, correct, and striking. The hearing in some cases of acute mania shows an abnormal perception for sounds, and, in many cases, the whole of the mental faculties appear to be quickened and brisker. The antithesis of acute maniacal excitement is the state of profound melancholia, when there is an intense emotional state of sadness and reserve. In this state persons are often timid, apprehensive and self-deprecating, and it is the state into which many men of genius have found themselves. Aristotle described all men of ability as being of the melancholic temperament and some of them in this state have made attempts upon their lives. They have become introspective and suspicious, overcome with the fear of others. Erasmus Darwin, Clive, Romilly, Cowper and Collins as well as Chatterton were of this order. I knew a clever novelist who to avoid mortal ken concealed himself in a boat moored for weeks to an uninhabited island. Some men of great mental power have felt obliged to give up their adopted professions from an overwhelming fear and an apprehensive horror of having to appear in public, and Sir Thomas Browne is stated never to have overcome the act of blushing at the slightest emotional change; and many men of genius have experienced a dislike almost amounting to fear in regard to social life. Of all forms of insanity probably the class described as paranoia is the nearest allied to genius. Those of this type are strong-minded, often extraordinarily able, but irreconcilables and quite "impossible" persons. They are the material out of which canonized saints, martyrs, prophets, inventors and cranks of all sorts are recruited. We are all familiar with the fantastic ways of very clever people, with their personal appearance, their style of clothing, their hair, and their style of writing. We know the professed spiritualists, the rabid anti-vivisectionists, the collectors of useless

objects, and those who devote their lives to fantastical strivings; conditions not infrequently associated with the presence of unusual mental ability. Maudsley states that there has hardly ever been a man of genius who had not insanity or some form of nervous disorder in his family tree.

Indeed insanity is known to occur with unusual frequency among the relatives of men of genius. Life, however, is a matter of compensation and equilibrium, and if great development occurs in one direction there is a compensating defect in others. All are familiar with the so-called calculating boys, who are usually infants of prodigious memories but no "minds." I knew a man who could recite *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* from cover to cover, yet his mind continued to be of the nursery type and he did not understand what he dramatically recited. I knew another who would play upon the organ any music he had previously heard, and this without notes—of which he knew nothing—to remind him. Another person visited the *Great Eastern* steamship and he afterwards constructed from memory an accurate model of it, yet he possessed only the mind of an inordinately vain and egotistical child. It is known that genius is frequently associated with a deficient moral sense, being found with drunkenness, prodigality, crime or immorality, as well as epilepsy or insanity. On the one hand the psychic wave rises to a great height, whilst on the other it falls below the level of what society can tolerate and the certificate of insanity is called to limit the "bound." Every person who has walked through the wards of an asylum must have realised the vivid imagery and the creative fancy of some of the inmates and could not fail to be reminded of the flights of genius on the other side of the "bound." Such an association tends to persuade any observer that genius and insanity are both products of a morbid instability and that the partition between the two is both narrow and ill-defined.

ROBERT ARMSTRONG-JONES.

REVIEWS.

ASPECTS OF THE POSITION OF WOMEN.

WOMAN, MARRIAGE AND MOTHERHOOD. By Elizabeth Sloan Chesser. Cassell. 6/- net.

THE FUTURE OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT. By H. M. Swanwick. G. Bell and Sons. 2/6 net.

CONFLICTING IDEALS: Two Sides of the Woman's Question. By B. L. Hutchins. T. Murby and Co. 1/6 net.

ELLEN KEY: HER LIFE AND HER WORK. By Louise Nyström-Hamilton. Translated by Anna E. B. Fries. Putnam. \$1.25 net.

WAR AND WOMEN. By Mrs. St. Clair Stobart. G. Bell and Son. 3/6 net.

WOMAN'S PLACE IN RURAL ECONOMY. By P. de Vuyst. Translated by Nora Hunter. Blackie. 3/6 net.

THESE six volumes are all concerned with some aspect or aspects of the position, present or future, of women. One of them, Mrs. Sloan Chesser's "Woman, Marriage and Motherhood," aims mainly at a consideration of fundamentals; Mrs. Swanwick, in "The Future of the Women's Movement," deals with matters that belong to a stage of transition; and so, in a measure, does Miss B. L. Hutchins in the summing-up of "Conflicting Ideals." All these may be said to travel in the central channel of controversy. The biography of Ellen Key keeps the sound of its agitated waters still in the reader's ears; while "War and Women," by Mrs. St. Clair Stobart, and the translation of a Belgian report upon "Woman's Place in Rural Economy" are a little off the main course.

It will be observed that Mrs. Sloan Chesser employs in her title that much-to-be-distrusted word Woman. No less in argument than in law is it true that pitfalls lurk in generalities. Dr. Chesser, in common with many other writers and many scores of speakers, would have occupied safer ground if she had confined herself to statements about women—creatures more or less within the cognizance of every reader and hearer—and had abstained from making any about that imaginary impersonation of a whole sex, Woman, whom it is not possible to bring to the test of the actual, and who, under the mask of a fallacious unity, often succeeds in playing incompatible parts without detection. The idea of "woman" will be apt to vary, not merely in every different mind but even in each single mind. Some such shifting of basis it probably is which accounts for some instances of vagueness, of repetition, and of self-contradiction that may be noted, here and there, in Dr. Chesser's industrious pages. Literary distinction is absent from them and there are indications of somewhat hurried production, among them a lack of unity and an overlarge accumulation of illustrative facts and figures. Without its excellent index it would be difficult to find one's way through the book, and Dr. Chesser's leading idea (which is that good motherhood is the world's greatest need) is sometimes actually obscured by the mass of detail designed for its exposition. Good mothers would, she believes, be obtained if specific instruction in the care of children and in the management of a house were imparted to all schoolgirls. Thus, she explicitly declares that "a knowledge of child hygiene should be regarded as an essential part of a girl's education, whatever her station."

She speaks with praise of a school in Wales where girls of from 12 to 14 spend "half the school hours of each day of the school year in learning practical housecraft," while "the last five weeks of the course are devoted wholly to the care of children." She is, indeed, of opinion that, in every school, "a recognised course should be compulsory, followed by an examination."

Mrs. Swanwick, on the other hand, although no less convinced that good mothers are greatly needed, says roundly :—

"Women should not be trained to be mothers; to do so at once introduces all sorts of arbitrary limitations and restrictions and hampers the very mission it is designed to serve. Women should be trained to be whole human beings; the measure of a woman's motherhood, like the measure of her love, is the measure of her whole nature. Cramp her nature, limit her activities, and you cramp and limit her love and her motherhood."

It is curious to find a medical practitioner who is a woman apparently sharing the very common but mistaken view that domestic labour is likely to be less harmful than most forms of trade-work to expectant mothers. A considerable knowledge of households in which mothers do all the work has led me to regard the heavier processes of washing (the wringing of sheets, for instance), the making of beds, when the turning of heavy mattresses is involved, the carrying of coal and water, especially upstairs, as among the most dangerous to health of actions commonly performed by women. When performed, as they frequently are, within ten days, or even within a week, after the birth of a child, they are the main causes of those internal injuries that afflict a majority of working-class mothers. Housework, as it is among the conditions ordinarily existing in wage-earning families, ought to be recognised by enlightened eugenis as a trade unfit for mothers. Evidently Mrs. Swanwick knows how the poorer working woman of this country lives; "Think," she cries :

"Think of the crowded condition of the rooms, so that the Sunday clothes must be kept in the parlour, and there is no room whatever for storing perishable food, to say nothing of groceries! Think of the extravagant ramshackle grates on which these women are expected to cook appetising food, without which the man will go to the public-house! Think of the washing on a wet day! . . . It seems to me indecent to blame the woman if she succumbs to such conditions. When she revolts from them, she ought to have the hearty help and sympathy of every reformer in the land."

To another danger, also, which has escaped many writers, Mrs. Swanwick is awake :—

"The people who talk as if a girl should be trained from childhood up for motherhood quite overlook the very real possibility of tiring out the instinct before its time of fruition. There are very many girls who would have quite a healthy and natural fondness for babies, but who have had the feeling literally worn out by premature exercise."

The instincts and interests of a normal woman become developed at the time when they are needed. As a little child she cares for play and for the companionship of playfellows; as a girl in her teens she becomes engrossed

in school life, either in learning or in games, and in the later school years, if not earlier, a preference for some particular sort of occupation will be apt to show itself. Unless her mind is left vacant, she seldom, at this stage, thinks much about marriage and may even entertain and express some aversion from it. No wise elder need be alarmed or distressed; the wholesome attitude is not to desire marriage, but to desire marriage with some particular person. When her heart turns to some one man the girl will be ready enough to marry him, and then, also, she will begin to hope that there will be children of their union. Household affairs, in which she may, probably, have shown no previous inclination to take part, grow interesting when they concern the home that will be hers and his. This is the period in which she will be anxious to acquire the knowledge that bears the new names of "housecraft" and "mothercraft," and at this period she will profit by them. As for the girls of twelve to fourteen, it will be wiser to interest them in botany or geology or the learning of a new language—matters to which they are not likely to turn their attention for the first time at two-and-twenty. But at two-and-twenty a young woman—if her schooling has taught her the great lesson of how to learn—will find no difficulty in the processes of cooking or of house-cleaning. Few educated women, however, and certainly none who have become accustomed to a professional standard of work, will fail to perceive with some disapproval that housework, owing to the isolated and individualist manner in which it has been carried on, is a backward and undeveloped industry. As such, it is, in its present form, unacceptable to an increasing number of modern women belonging to every grade of the community. To scold them for this state of affairs is futile—as futile as the lamentations that no doubt were uttered by some ancient Britons when woad began to be superseded by Roman fashions. There is no commoner weakness than to believe the passing customs of our own day inextricably bound up with the vital instincts of the race. Yet it is a safe assumption that the natural relations of man, woman, and child will persist even if every private kitchen in England disappears and every child of two and upwards comes to spend its time in a Montessori day-school.

The most remarkable and original chapter of Mrs. Swanwick's book is that in which she analyses the exploitation for profit of the appetites for drink, for sexual indulgence, and for war. She compares the spontaneous passions of the natural human animal with the same passions as deliberately provoked and fostered by some second person for the sake of gain:—

"Natural appetite may be gross, may even be brutal, but in simple communities where each individual must rely on his own strength for his own livelihood, it tends to return to a norm which is that of health . . . These appetites have, by indulgence, by stimulation, and by exploitation, become lusts which . . . threaten the existence of the Empires which are allowing themselves to be eaten up by them."

It is, indeed, the chief characteristic of this volume that the author is able to see facts and to expound what she sees in terms so lucid as absolutely to preclude misunderstanding.

Similar merits belong to the unassuming but illuminating little book to which Miss B. L. Hutchins has given the name of "Conflicting Ideals," and in which she marshals the advantages and disadvantages of two diverging views as to the position of women. In doing so she presents arguments on behalf of the patriarchal ideal which I, at least, have never seen adduced by its professed advocates:—

"In theory, at all events [this arrangement], does set free a certain number of women for work that 'does not pay,' viz., for the care of home and children, the training of character, the development of social traditions and of a standard of life. In an age when so many things are bought and sold that formerly were without price, it is well to remember that the most important things in life have no exchange value."

After an examination likely both to clarify and to widen the reader's thoughts upon the whole question, the conclusion, however, is that: "The economic subjection of women is no longer valuable for the maintenance of the family and is positively harmful in view of the need for building up a higher standard of human intelligence, character and citizenship."

The biography of Ellen Key is so merely a biography that but for Mr. Havelock Ellis's introduction some readers might be left wondering what was her position in regard to the great questions with which her mind has been occupied. The volume has apparently been rendered into English by a translator whose native tongue it is not, and, as might be expected, the translation is uncouth. The original is probably better than it appears; if Mrs. Nyström-Hamilton's narrative ever showed any power of vivid portrayal, the quality has evaporated in the process of transmutation.

Mrs. St. Clair Stobart's record of the work done in the Balkans by a small group of English ladies testifies convincingly to the usefulness of educated and trained women as organisers and helpers in the care of the wounded and sick in times of war; and she is probably right in believing that women who have thus an opportunity of beholding war at close quarters will learn to think of it as altogether an evil. The wholesome satisfaction which she evidently feels in the good service performed has led some—surely, careless—readers to suppose her no opponent of warfare as such. She would, perhaps, have been wiser, remembering how many readers always will be careless, if she had set forth more distinctly her perception of the ironical situation in which all persons are placed who, while war is not yet publicly reprobated, endeavour to mend the men whom war is permitted to lacerate.

The report upon the place of women in rural economy, drawn up by the Director-General of Agriculture in Belgium and provided, in its English guise, with an introduction by Sir R. P. Wright, Chairman of the Board of Agriculture for Scotland, strikes a British reader as a singularly sociable and friendly document. It talks more about happiness, the beauties of nature, the colour of walls and the charms of the farm garden than an English official paper would be likely to do. The author hardly, perhaps, realises how heavily overworked farmers' wives are apt to be. It is pleasant, however, to think of these busy women meeting together and discussing their affairs, from time to time; and it is to be hoped that on these occasions the element of instruction is not permitted to overpower that of social intercourse.

Taken altogether, the six books bear witness to the degree in which women are at this time occupying the attention of all thoughtful people. In a sense each of them is ephemeral because it deals with conditions rapidly changing. The one which will remain most permanently interesting is "Conflicting Ideals," which in its judicial impartiality already sees the phases of the present in their essence, clear and bare of confusing excrescences—even as some wise historian looking back will see them in the future.

CLEMENTINA BLACK.

THE FRAUD OF FEMINISM. By E. Belfort Bax. Grant Richards. 2/6 net.
 THE VOCATION OF WOMAN. By Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun. Macmillan.
 4/6 net.

THESE two books may usefully be read together, because while Mrs. Colquhoun's work is pervaded by an unconscious, but none the less unmistakable, air of feminist superiority, and this in spite of a very obvious desire to deal fairly with the position of man and woman, Mr. Belfort Bax expresses an open and frank belief in man's superiority. Mrs. Colquhoun has many phrases such as the following: "Man still falls far behind woman's ideal of what the father of her children should be"; "It must not be assumed that there is any intention of justifying the errant courses of man"; "It is quite true that men do not always act up to their marriage vows," etc., and does not sufficiently realise that women may fall far short of man's ideal of motherhood, that a woman has errant courses, and that women do not always act up to their marriage vows but fail in these matters as men do. Mr. Bax does not logically fail from the other aspect of sex and claim that men have the greater moral virtue and woman the less, but there is at times an asperity and a rough unsympathetic handling of the subject which is greatly to be deplored. Neither book has an index, which greatly detracts from the reference value of each, and in several places there is evidence of hurried writing. The value of Mrs. Colquhoun's book is briefly in this, that it is one of a series of works by women that mark the turn of the tide of which "An Englishwoman's Home" and Mrs. Frederic Harrison's "Freedom of Women" were earlier pioneers. Women do not feel so sure of the value of political agitation as formerly, and Mrs. Colquhoun sees, like Miss Ida Tarbell in America, that the home must stand as the ideal for the majority of women in all coming ages and that the modern unreasoning antagonism to it must pass away.

Mrs. Colquhoun begins with an examination of the revolt of woman, of which she takes a grave view. She warns women, almost in the terms of Mazzini in his appeal to men, to think of duties as well as rights. She insists on the fact that marriage is essentially an institution which protects woman, and in doing this binds the less responsible man more strongly than he would be bound but for its legal strength and religious control. She also sees nothing but danger in the growing manifestation of sex hostility on the part of the modern woman and thinks that a real education for marriage responsibilities is necessary for women. Further, she points out that the need of men is not for an economic partner—were this so men would live with other men—but for one who represents another side of life and who is not of the turmoil of the business world. Mrs. Colquhoun has much in her book that is wise and sane in its outlook, and her thought-taking as its standpoint the problem of the more or less financially well-placed woman—fills a needed place in current controversy.

Mr. Bax, as one naturally expects and as his title implies, makes an attack on the modern woman—an attack with a great deal of truth in it, but hardly a careful criticism. His claim is that the public woman has deliberately misrepresented her case by intentionally stating facts wrongly or drawing false inferences from them. We may admit that this is true in some instances without assuming that the modern woman's movement as a whole rests on such an evil base, and the real weakness of Mr. Bax's book is to be sought in his failure to separate genuine aspiration from self-seeking notoriety and unfortunate but sincere obsession by an idea. He contends that there has been a deliberate anti-man crusade, and had he limited this

contention to a section of the woman movement only, he could easily establish his position from the literature of the past hundred and fifty years. Mrs. Colquhoun, a sympathetic critic of womanhood, herself admits the tendency and traces the sources of it to the women's colleges. Again, Mr. Bax urges that woman has persistently traded on her innocence, an innocence which is apparent and not real, and the instances he gives undoubtedly support his view. There is a class of woman, as every medical man of experience knows, given to using the cloak of innocence to hide a nature that has become insincere and coarse; but it is unfair to assert that a real innocence of life is not a very beautiful characteristic of some of the best wives and mothers of our own and past times. And when he claims that 'chivalry' is a false ideal and women have used it to enslave men, his argument is only true of what is still a small section of women. Yet in this as in his other books and papers Mr. Bax cites evidence to prove that the law as a whole has not been unjust to women, and even that in its main tendency it has treated her more leniently than man, although largely man-made. He is weak, however, in his biological knowledge of the subject, and he admits it, as also does Mrs. Colquhoun. Both would have written more surely, and Mr. Bax more temperately, had they been better equipped in this respect. None the less both books are of considerable current value. Few men, and I hope few women, will rise from a serious perusal of "The Fraud of Feminism" without wishing to state a comprehensive fair-minded case for woman, which Mr. Bax fails to do. Nevertheless, there will be left in their minds the thought that the less scrupulous woman in the care of her home and in her parental duties, as well as in the outside world, has been covered too long and too successfully with a veneer of qualities which she has no right to assume. So that whether Mr. Bax intended it or not, his book arouses just the right feelings in the reader—a wish to be fair to women and yet to see, and honestly see, her many failings, which the present agitation has disingenuously tried to conceal. Incidentally one may mention one great lack in both writers which reveals a characteristic failure of our times. Mr. Bax mentions an early writer new to the reviewer, but otherwise both author and authoress make no use of the historical studies of their question and the great writers on the subject, Comte, Spencer, Laycock, etc., are all omitted or if referred to, quoted side by side with some popular writer of ephemeral reputation. Perspective is a missing feature; all thoughts and all people are pictured not only as being of the same stature and quality but even as being on the same plane.

J. LIONEL TAYLER.

LESSONS IN EMPIRE.

POLITICAL AND LITERARY ESSAYS, 1908—1913. By the Earl of Cromer. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1913. Price 10s. 6d. net.

THE ROMAN AND THE BRITISH EMPIRES. By James Bryce. Oxford University Press, 1914. Price 6s. net.

THESE two works have much in common. They are both written by men of wide experience acquired in various lands and in many high offices. Lord Bryce has long been famous as historian and as student of institutions, occupations for which his service in the British Parliament and Cabinet and in the United States has only given him greater experience. Lord Cromer, at the close of his career in India and Egypt, writes with all the knowledge of a practised administrator and yet with the literary skill that

we should rather expect in one whose life had been devoted to letters. Neither book contains matter hitherto unpublished, if we except a few notes. Lord Cromer's Essays are collected from various periodicals. Lord Bryce's studies of Empire and Law are two pieces which originally formed part of a larger collection. But both will be new to most readers and will well repay a careful study. Lord Cromer ranges over a wonderful array of diverse subjects from Army Reform and Free Trade to Russian Romance and Songs, Patriotic, Military and Naval, from the Classics to China, from Antigonus to Tallien and Disraeli. But, in view of his career, it is naturally his papers on Imperial questions, on India and Egypt, on his comparisons between the British and Roman Empires, and between the former and the French Empire in Algeria, that have the greatest interest; and of these the most important is the one on "the Government of Subject Races." The same questions are treated in Lord Bryce's first essay, though from a somewhat different point of view.

"The main justification of Imperialism," according to Lord Cromer, "is to be found in the use which is made of the Imperial power." Englishmen in India "are apt to lose sight of the fact that the self-interest of the subject race is the principal basis of the whole Imperial fabric." If we do not secure contentment, "we must govern by the sword alone," and that is a policy for which Lord Cromer has no liking. As a consequence, since we have imparted knowledge and therefore stimulated ambition, reforms are "imposed by the necessities of the situation." A still more "potent instrument with which to conjure discontent" is low taxation. But if this policy "is to be adopted, two elements of British society will have to be kept in check at the hands of the statesman acting in concert with the moralist"—Militarism and Commercial Egotism. He thus sums up the results of the forward policy on India:—

Under the influence of a predominant militarism acting on too pliant politicians, vast military expenditure was incurred. Territory lying outside the natural geographical frontier of India was occupied, the acquisition of which was condemned not merely by sound policy, but also by sound strategy. Taxation was increased, and, generally, the material interests of the natives of India were sacrificed and British Imperial rule exposed to subsequent danger, in order to satisfy the exigencies of a school of soldier-politicians who only saw one, and that the most technical, aspect of a very wide and complex question.

This is, as the late Lord Salisbury put it, "to try and annex the moon in order to prevent its being appropriated by the planet Mars."

One great difficulty in the government of subject peoples is the ignorance of the rulers; for while "deliberate oppression" is highly improbable, "unintentional misgovernment" is far more conceivable. Another difficulty lies in the inflexibility of Western methods especially in finance. Though the only limit in an Oriental State to the demands of the rulers has been the ability of the taxpayers to satisfy them, yet those "rulers recognise that they cannot get money from a man who possesses none The idea of expropriation for the non-payment of taxes is purely Western and modern." Speaking of Algeria, Lord Cromer remarks that French officials, who may be assumed to be "courageous, intelligent, zealous, and thoroughly honest," but also "somewhat inelastic" and "wedded to bureaucratic ideas," must recognise, if self-government is to be a success, "that it is politically wiser to put up with an imperfect reform carried with native consent, rather than to insist on some more

perfect measure executed in the teeth of strong—albeit often unreasonable—native opposition. English experience has shown that this is a very hard lesson for officials to learn."

It is noticeable that Lord Bryce, who has taken an active part in popular government, is on the whole more favourable in his judgment of the Roman Empire than is Lord Cromer who has been himself a ruler of subject peoples. Lord Cromer complains of the bequest of that "word of ill omen—the word 'Imperialism,'" and speaks of "the Nemesis which attended Roman misrule." Lord Bryce is struck by some obvious similarities between the two Empires, such as this, that while the Courts in both were open for the redress of private wrongs—and even more in India than in the Roman world—there has been in neither a remedy for errors of policy or defects in the law itself, save by appeal to the sovereign power. But he also sees some points in which the earlier Empire had an advantage. While both made use of natives for subordinate posts, in Rome the higher posts also were open to them; and as a consequence, since the rulers came from amongst the ruled, there was not the same chasm between them. Again, Rome, as Lord Cromer also recognises, succeeded better than the modern Imperialists in the conciliation of local patriotism and Imperial loyalty. Perhaps Lord Bryce is inclined to exaggerate the difficulties due to differences of religion and colour: religions in England itself are very various; and colour prejudice is not only much less strong in some Western nations than in others, but even in individuals of the same nation—a sure sign that it is in the mass neither permanent nor instinctive.

Another point that strikes Lord Bryce in modern Imperialism is the opposition between the theories of government professed by the ruling nation at home and among subject peoples. Speaking of the Philippines and the incongruity of their position with the theory that the consent of the governed is the only foundation of just government, he remarks that it gives to thoughtful Americans "visions of mocking spirits, which the clergy are summoned to exorcise by dwelling upon the benefits which the diffusion of a pure faith and a commercial civilization may be expected to confer upon the indolent and superstitious inhabitants of these tropical isles." Lord Bryce himself has few illusions as to the motives or effects of Empire-building. "Every one of these nations professes to be guided by philanthropic motives in its action. But it is not philanthropy that has carried any of them into these enterprises, nor is it clear that the immediate result will be to increase the sum of human happiness." Lord Cromer takes a different view. While he demands that our relations with subject peoples must be "economically sound and morally defensible," he insists that we should accomplish our manifest destiny, and that we would "sink into political insignificance," if we refused the main title which makes us great. It is not easy to understand the meaning attached to the words, "manifest destiny." Sociologically, it is true that every nation was destined to do that which it has done, but according to Lord Cromer's own showing, whether this will continue our destiny depends on many circumstances both moral and material. In regard, however, to our danger of lapsing into political insignificance, if we fail to do that which we are destined to do, it is perhaps well to be reminded, as Lord Bryce reminds us, how little the Empire has affected either the constitutional or the economic development of England or her position among the nations. "England was great and powerful before she owned a yard of land in Asia, and might

be great and powerful again with no more foothold in the East than would be needed for the naval fortresses which protect her commerce."

The second portion of Lord Bryce's volume deals with the extension of Roman and English Law throughout the world—a subject peculiarly fitted to its author's powers. No short notice would do it justice, but two characteristic passages may be quoted. The first will be cold comfort to the enthusiasts for democratic forms of government:—

"Indeed the world seldom realizes by how few persons it is governed. There is a sense in which power may be said to rest with the whole community, and there is also a sense in which it may be said, in some governments, to rest with a single autocrat. But in reality it almost always rests in every country with an extremely small number of persons, whose knowledge and will prevail over or among the titular possessions of authority."

The second passage deals succinctly with the history and present position of the two systems:—

"The world is, or will shortly be, practically divided between two sets of legal conceptions of rules, and two only. The elder had its birth in a small Italian city, and though it has undergone endless changes and now appears in a variety of forms, it retains its distinctive character, and all these forms still show an underlying unity. The younger has sprung from the union of the rude customs of a group of Low German tribes with rules worked out by the subtle, acute and eminently disputatious intellect of the Gallicized Norsemen who came to England in the eleventh century. It has been much affected by the elder system, yet it has retained its distinctive features and spirit specially contrasted with that of the imperial law in everything that pertains to the rights of the individual and the means of asserting them. And it has communicated something of this spirit to the more advanced forms of the Roman law in constitutional countries."

S. H. SWINNY.

MR. BRANFORD'S INTERPRETATIONS.

INTERPRETATIONS AND FORECASTS: A STUDY OF SURVIVALS AND TENDENCIES IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY. By Victor Branford, M.A., some time Honorary Secretary of the Sociological Society. London: Duckworth and Co., 1914. 7/6 net.

MR. BRANFORD and his ideas are so well known to readers of the Review that the occasion may seem to call rather for an expression of satisfaction at the successful completion of his book than for a detailed account of it. It is true that in form it is not a connected treatise but a series of papers, "nearly all prepared in order to serve some momentary purpose in the propaganda of sociology," of which Mr. Branford is so unwearied an exponent. Yet the reader will feel that the papers, though somewhat unequal in tone and treatment, fall naturally into their place within the covers of the book, and that the work can be considered and judged as a whole. This is what Mr. Branford asks us to do: and the most that he modestly claims for his book is that "it illustrates a sociological way of looking at things, of thinking about them, and trying to understand them." The book consists of eight chapters, which illustrate what Mr. Branford calls the sociological point of view in dealing with a well-chosen variety of subjects, mediæval and modern, European and American. Perhaps the most interesting sections, considered as concrete expositions, are those dealing with "The Mediæval Citizen: What He Was and What He

Made," and the two entitled "The Sociologist at the Theatre" and "Town and Gown in America." But the book as a whole is full of stimulus, and charged with that peculiar suggestiveness which we have learned to associate with Professor Geddes and his group of fellow-workers. Perhaps it will be the sincerest compliment to Mr. Branford if, in commenting on it in the pages of this Review, we take his book as read and deal with the line of thought suggested in his opening words about "a sociological way of looking at things."

Many of us in this generation are attempting to shape for ourselves a vision of a more satisfactory condition of human society. But our visions must differ, not merely according to our own prepossessions, but according to our estimate of the relative strength of the various forces in the world of to-day; and that again must vary according to our own personal experience. We are none of us detached enough to be perfect seers of our own time. In this sense sociology, which aims at interpreting and co-ordinating the changing life of a contemporary society, however scientific it may aspire to be, however it may equip itself with surveys and statistics, must always remain, in the last analysis, subjective. For the thinker, in dealing with the life of men in society, is handling imponderabilia, which elude measurement and classification. It was inevitable that, in the flush of the first attempt to introduce scientific conceptions into the study of human affairs, this should to some extent have been forgotten. But sociologists, like historians, have slowly come to see that a living difference of opinion or outlook is better than a mechanical agreement, and that human society is too complex and various to be satisfactorily summed up in any one formula of interpretation.

Reading Mr. Branford's book in this spirit I came across a sentence in the first chapter which made me jump. "If we can discover," he remarks in his placid, flowing way, "*the formula, the process for making a society*—that is, an effective spiritual community—then (may we not say so?) we shall have God on the side of the small battalions." I make no apology for shamelessly isolating this sentence from its context and italicising its salient words: for it embodies, in a daring form, certain elements in Mr. Branford's thought which I should like to discuss.

Societies are not made: they grow. Mr. Branford knows that as well as I do. We both learnt it at the university. Why, then, should he commit the playful extravagance of using the language of a chemist when he is talking sociology? I think the answer is partly that he has been reading (of course, I mean *re-reading*) Aristotle, and partly that he has been travelling in the New World, where things seem (though I doubt whether they are) more machine-made than in the Old. Aristotle, as Mr. Branford tells us in his opening pages, is a very dangerous and much misunderstood writer. He wrote a treatise on Human Nature in Society, which his editors divided into two parts, known as the *Ethics* and the *Politics*. In the *Ethics* he dealt with men as human beings; in the *Politics* with men as citizens. Mr. Branford has been re-reading the *Politics* to some purpose; and he rightly calls the attention to the mistake made by many generations of writers regarding the *Politics* as a work on the "City-State," or even "the State," rather than on "the City." He speaks of the "capital literary fraud" by which this mistake has been perpetuated, and the interest of students of political theory diverted from civic to national institutions. But I am not so sure that he has been re-reading the *Ethics*; and when he is discussing, as he does throughout his book, civic institu-

tions in the abstract, I am not certain whether he is remembering that the *Politics* is not a book about cities in general, "from San Francisco to Salonika, from Bergen to Buenos Ayres" (p. 18), but about cities inhabited by Greeks and inheriting Greek institutions. No doubt Aristotle thought, as Mr. Branford in places seems to think, that he was writing about cities in general. But that was only because he took it for granted that there could be only one kind of city—the Greek kind. If he had been presented with some of the problems of modern American municipalities—with cities devoid of any common basis of tradition among their inhabitants, where no common standard of virtue or obedience or civic sentiment can be assumed or expected, he would have despaired of including them in his scheme of thought.

The fact is that there are two elements in Greek political thought which modern writers do not sufficiently disentangle. There is, as Mr. Branford rightly sees, the scientific element, the element of sociology or civics, which is simply the application of human reason to the general problems of human society. In this sense the problems of San Francisco are the same as those of Salonika. Both need schools and parks and drains and law courts, and town-plans and theatres, and cloisters or Houses of Quiet, and the other excellent things which Mr. Branford tells us about. He has studied cities in this spirit, and we take it from him that whether we or the citizens of Salonika or San Francisco know it or not, they need these things as part of their standard civic equipment.

But there is another element in Greek political thought, and in modern social thinking, which I somehow miss in Mr. Branford. It is the element which gives life and colour and variety to these somewhat abstract problems.

Men call it by various names—names which, unlike pale intellectual conceptions such as civics and sociology, have enlisted men's emotions and awakened them to the exercise of high powers of devotion. How can I think of Salonika as a typical city, when I remember that it is a city with a Jewish proletariat; or think of San Francisco as typical and forget its earthquake and its Chinese? The truth is that no two collections of human things are alike: and that the more alive they are the less alike they must necessarily become. Stimulating as many of Mr. Branford's conceptions are, I feel no desire to see every civilised city divided into the four social elements of "Town," "School," "Cloister" and "Cathedral," or its population ranked into "People," "Chiefs," "Intellectuals" and "Emotionals." For in the long run it is not the sociologists or any other group of social thinkers who will make the cities and nations of the future, but the citizens themselves. It is not for the sociologist to prescribe; but to listen, to sympathise, to understand, and to interpret. If he "surveys" cities in this spirit he will find no two alike, not even in standardised America.

It is not very easy to discern from Mr. Branford's pages how far he appreciates the main difficulty in the way of a decent standard of civic life in industrial countries to-day. Why, for instance, do not the universities play the part in our national life which Mr. Branford rightly assigns to them? It is not because the people do not dream dreams and see visions of the cloister and the city beautiful; it is because industrial conditions, sometimes created or intensified by men whose names are associated with universities, prevent them. One of Mr. Branford's chapters is entitled, "Youth and Age in the Cloister." If Mr. Branford will con-

sult those who at Oxford, Cambridge and elsewhere, try, summer by summer, to bring age from the office and the factory for a fortnight to the cloister, he would realise that the Democracy is alive enough to his ideas. It is the power, and not the will, to lead the higher life which is lacking. Here is work to be done yet, not by the municipality but by the State; and this is why I jumped again and rubbed my eyes, when I found Mr. Branford writing (on p. 319) that "the best Government will be the one which most steadfastly sets before itself the ideal of preparing its own euthanasia." But these are ungrateful carpings: and I have no right to assume that Mr. Branford is not as enthusiastic a Democrat and a Nationalist as he is a citizen and an intellectual.

A. E. ZIMMERN.

THE REFORMERS AND THE LAND.

THE REPORT OF THE LAND INQUIRY. Vol. I: Rural; Vol. II: Urban. Hodder and Stoughton, 1913. 1/- net, each.

HOW THE LABOURER LIVES. By B. Seebohm Rowntree and May Kendall. Nelson, 1913. 2/- net.

ENGLISH AGRICULTURAL WAGES. By Reginald Lennard. Macmillan. 5/- net.

ENGLAND'S FATAL LAND POLICY. By Sir William Earnshaw Cooper, C.I.E. Pearson, 1913. 2/6 net.

OWNERSHIP, TENURE AND TAXATION OF LAND. By Sir Thomas Whittaker. Macmillan. 12/- net.

It is now very nearly thirty years since the agricultural labourer was entrusted with a parliamentary vote. The first result of his enfranchisement was the remission of school fees in elementary schools, the second the creation of parish councils, the third old age pensions, the fourth a Small Holdings Act which has done little more than whet the craving it was intended to satisfy. Now, at last, the flood of books on the problem of the rural worker, of which five of these six volumes are a sample, indicate that after the passing of a generation the agricultural labourer's enfranchisement is having its full effect, and that the sort of serious attention which produces real reforms is being paid to the problem of his condition of life and work.

By far the most important of all these recent publications is the report of the Liberal Land Inquiry. We have had also a Unionist land inquiry, a Fabian land inquiry, and a Labour Party land inquiry. But the report produced by the Committee under the very able chairmanship of the Right Hon. A. H. Dyke Acland, besides possessing an intrinsic importance through the connection between its authors and the Government of the day, is also the most thorough. It suffers, as do the others in varying measure, from the fact that it is to a great extent the work of town-dwellers, but fortunately these town-dwellers are conscious of the disability under which they have laboured, and have taken exceptional pains to get at the thoughts, the feelings, and the fundamental realities of life of the rural worker. This is no easy task. It is one of the terrible results of the crushing and degrading conditions under which the agricultural labourer has been toiling for generations, that he commonly does not know what he wants, beyond the most elementary needs of more food, better clothing and shelter, and a weekly half-holiday. If British agriculture is to be rescued from its

present condition of a degraded and sweated industry, and made the sound basis of a rational and civilised national life, the reforms by which such a transformation is effected must be a real expression of the instincts and cravings of the agricultural worker himself, as they would be if he lived a normal life. Hence the great riddle for the land reformer is the reading of the heart of the peasant, not as he is now, but as he will be when he is emancipated.

The plan of reform set out by the report of the Land Inquiry is a systematic and logical one—perhaps too systematic and logical. The basis of the whole is the fixing of a legal minimum wage by some form of wage tribunal. This wage is to be fixed high enough to enable the labourer to keep himself and an average family in a state of physical efficiency, and to pay a "commercial rent" (whatever that may be) for his cottage. Then the tenant farmer is to be given the right, if the increased wage adds to the cost of production, to recover the cost from the landowner. The labourer is to have a statutory right to a cottage, as in Ireland, and the central authority is to have the power to stimulate local authorities to supply cottages, by giving or withholding grants in aid, and the power of acting in default. The tied-cottage system is to be got rid of. The basis of a somewhat more human existence for the labourer being thus provided, the possibility of an agricultural career is to be provided by improvements in the Small Holdings Acts. Next, the whole industry of agriculture is to be freed from certain obstacles to its natural development on scientific lines, by laws restricting the right of landowners to sacrifice crops to game, by the establishment of a Land Court for England and Wales, similar to that created for crofters and small holders in Scotland, the main work of which would be to give the cultivator full security of tenure, and by changes in the law of rating devised to stop the penalisation of improvements. There are no definite recommendations of any importance on the important questions of co-operation, credit, transit facilities and rural education.

This is the main drift of a report likely to occupy a place in English history somewhat similar to the reports of the two great partisan Commissions of the thirties, on the Poor Law, and on Municipal Corporations. It will, of course, not give complete satisfaction even to Liberal land reformers. To some it will seem too much directed towards the control of the distribution of the wealth produced by agriculture by a political machinery, and too little concerned with the advance of agriculture itself; while on the other side many keen politicians are disappointed because the Committee as a whole did not endorse the Baron de Forrest's appeal for Land Nationalisation. But it is nevertheless well qualified to secure the hearty support of the main body of Liberals. Conservative land reformers, tenant farmers, and agricultural labourers are also giving its proposals very serious attention, and considerably more favour than might have been expected. The following are the points of criticism which I am disposed to urge:—

(1) The reiterated insistence that cottages should be let at an economic rent, without any definition as to what an economic rent is, appears to me to be pedantic, and, if adhered to in practice, likely to be a serious stumbling block. If agricultural labourers were in the habit of paying economic rents, which I take to mean rents sufficient to yield average rates of interest on the capital necessary to supply similar cottages, and profits to the builder, then it would be necessary to consider very carefully whether public authorities should disturb such a custom by letting cottages more cheaply. But the actual rents paid average between 1s. and 2s. per week.

If now the State or Local Authorities, recognising the need shown by the report, of 120,000 additional cottages, is to build them and refuse to let them under "economic rents" of 5s. a week and upwards, they are likely to remain untenanted, at least by the class of labourers for whom they are built. Of course if by "economic rent" the authors of the report meant the best rent which such cottages would fetch, the building and letting policy could be carried out; but this they do not mean. The policy of building and letting at the rents customarily paid is that which has been pursued in Ireland. It is a serious blot in the report that no investigation has been made into the merits of the policy of the Labourers (Ireland) Acts, and, without any inquiry, that policy is condemned as "unsound." "Unsound" I am inclined to suspect, means only that the policy is not in harmony with certain exploded doctrines of the political economists of a hundred years ago, which still, like Ibsen's ghosts, haunt the minds of politicians and publicists.

(2) Since it is alleged that the superior condition of well-being of agricultural labourers in the Lothians is due to the local custom of payment of wages partly in meal and milk, whereby the labourer practically gets these fundamental necessities at wholesale prices, and the labourers' children have the diet they need, the report, in my opinion, should not have declared in favour of the payment of wages entirely in cash, without any investigation of this assertion.

(3) Seeing that the investigations of the Committee itself lead to the conclusion that one of the chief causes of the terrible condition of rural housing is the utter incompetence of the Local Government Board as the Central Health and Housing Authority, it is a defect in the report that the obvious remedy, the transfer of these powers to the much needed Ministry of Public Health, is not advocated.

The second volume of the Report of the Land Inquiry deals with Urban housing and the tenure of land in towns. It is not possible in a short space to summarise or criticise its proposals. Perhaps the most striking is the extension of the principle of the legal minimum wage to low-paid urban workers, which is recommended as a necessary step to make possible a decent standard of housing. In this volume also one is struck by the failure of the Report, in analysing the causes of the shortage of houses and the failure of local authorities to deal with slums, to point out that the Local Government Board is directly responsible, and that its systematic neglect of its duties with regard to housing, and the fact that when it does take action its action is obstructive more often than helpful, is the most easily remedied cause of the present evils. Reform, after all, is as much a matter of men, of administrators, as of legislative schemes. The creation of a Ministry of Public Health, and manning it with able and zealous workers, both men and women, is a necessary preliminary to all the reforms advocated with respect to housing in this volume, and, when once it is taken, the others will follow with comparative ease.

"How the Labourer Lives," by Mr. Seebohm Rowntree and Miss Kendall, is practically a companion volume to the Land Report. It consists of the family budgets of 42 different agricultural labourers, living in various parts of the country. It is a grim story of habitual under-nutrition; and it demonstrates that under-nutrition is almost an unavoidable condition of the life of a family of average size dependent on the wage of an agricultural labourer during the period when there are several children not yet old

enough to help with their earnings. It is characterised by the statistical carefulness which Mr. Rowntree always cultivates, and the picture drawn will in no way appear exaggerated to those familiar with rural conditions.

Mr. Lennard's little book, on "English Agricultural Wages," is a careful attempt, by a trained economist, to investigate the question whether any inconvenient results, as in the reduction in the number of men employed and increase of unemployment among agricultural workers, is likely to follow from an attempt to raise labourers' wages by the establishment of a legal minimum, and if so, to what extent. His conclusion is that while such a tendency might result, in a limited degree, it could easily be neutralised by simultaneous measures to increase small holdings and encourage more scientific and intensive agriculture.

In curious and interesting contrast to Mr. Lennard's academic and frigidly scientific treatment of one aspect of the agricultural problem, is Sir William Earnshaw Cooper's fierce denunciation of our national neglect of agriculture, of the "insensate party system of government" and "Manchester's sacrifice of agriculture on the altar of her greed." The burden of his demand is that the land of the British Isles should be thoroughly cultivated. Perhaps the most interesting point in the book is the author's statement with regard to his own conversion from a belief in occupying ownership to one in land nationalisation and tenancies under the State.

"In 'Ownership, Tenure and Taxation of Land,' Sir Thomas Whittaker has produced a somewhat ponderous volume dealing with the ethics, origin, history and economics of the existing English land system, and finally setting out his own position with regard to the reforms necessary. The historical portion of his book, which is the larger part, is largely a hash of extracts from a large number of writers, and may be recommended rather as a guide to the literature on the subject than as a competent summary. On the practical question Sir Thomas Whittaker endorses the "minimum wage" proposal with regard to agricultural labourers, and advocates some reasonable and moderate reforms in the rating system.

GILBERT SLATER.

THE LIMITATIONS OF PRAGMATISM.

PRAGMATISM AND IDEALISM. By William Caldwell, M.A., D.Sc., Macdonald Professor of Moral Philosophy, McGill University, Montreal. London, A. and C. Black, 1913. 6s. net.

THIS is an interesting attempt to indicate how the elements of value in Pragmatism and Idealism may be combined into a constructive philosophy based upon the conviction that "reality is what it proves itself to be in the daily transformation of our experience" (p. 229). Professor Caldwell endeavours to hold the balance between the pragmatist and the idealist interpretations of reality, and, though clearly in sympathy with Pragmatism, is not blind to its many defects, while idealism of some description attracts him. He is thus able to do justice to both views in carrying out his proposed "examination of the pragmatist philosophy in its relations to older and newer tendencies in the thought and practice of mankind."

As used by Professor Caldwell the term "pragmatism" is given a very wide meaning; it implies an attitude, a way of looking at life; it is an attempt to fulfil a want neglected by other philosophies. This want is the recognition of man as primarily active, volitional, purposive, a being with unfulfilled desires. In the "great idea of the identity of the desirable and

the intelligible" consists, for Professor Caldwell, "the fundamental principle of the true humanism of which pragmatism is in search." (p. 155 n.) But pragmatism fails to reach the heights of this true humanism because it fails "to see that in the highest reaches of our active life the controlling ideas (justice, humanity, courage, and so on) have a value independently of any consequences other than those of their realization in the purposes and in the dispositions of men." (p. 147.) This surely is both a true and a serious indictment against pragmatism.

In a chapter upon 'Pragmatism as Americanism' put forth, the author assures us in his preface, "in the most tentative spirit possible" (p. vi.), the merits and defects of pragmatism are admirably summed up. There is undoubtedly in the pragmatist philosophy a reflection of the American democratic spirit, and of those conditions of American academic life which force a professor to advertise the utility of his subject, to show that philosophy can bake bread; and, as Professor Caldwell elsewhere remarks, pragmatism is the only philosophy that attempts to perform this feat. Like the typical American, then, pragmatism is practical, concrete, empirical, eclectic, highly social and eminently democratic. Professor Caldwell points out that all this is in most favourable contrast with "the scholastic and the Procrustean attitude to facts that has so long characterized philosophical rationalism," but he is aware that there is some danger of going too far in this direction and that pragmatism "is inclined in some ways to make too much of people's rights and interests, and too little of their duties and privileges and of their real needs and their fundamental human instincts." (p. 192.) Surely another serious indictment! The "satisfaction" that is the keynote of pragmatism must be deepened in meaning before this philosophy can rise "to the height of the distinctive message that it is capable of giving to the thought of the present time." (p. 195.)

Professor Caldwell is, indeed, in some doubt as to whether pragmatism can be regarded as a philosophy; it is rather an "approach" to philosophy, a method of attack. He criticises pragmatism for its failure in logic and theory of knowledge—that it has no adequate criterion of truth, nor adequate account of its nature, and that it does not define or explain those consequences by which truth is to be tested. He urges that "taken literally, the doctrine that truth should be tested by consequences is not only harmless but also useless" (p. 127), and he adds the trenchant criticism that "it is literally false for the reason that the proof of truth is not in the first instance any kind of 'consequences,' not even the 'verification' of which pragmatists are so fond." Further, pragmatism is guilty of "failure to give consistent account of the nature of reality" and of "unsatisfactoriness in the realm of ethics." This last charge may surprise many, for it is frequently claimed that the chief stronghold of pragmatism is in ethics and religion. But Professor Caldwell finds that it "completely fails . . . to provide a theory of the ordinary distinction between right and wrong" (p. 138), owing to its merely practical standard.

Yet, in spite of these grave defects, Professor Caldwell insists upon the importance and value of pragmatism, mainly, as we have pointed out, in supplying an admitted need of the time, and as orientating a new attitude towards philosophical problems. This attitude is not confined to James, Dewey, and Schiller, upon whose work pragmatism rests in the main. In Chapter II Professor Caldwell gives a review of the 'Pragmatist movement' into which so many names are crowded that it leaves one with the breath-

less feeling of having read through a bibliography. It may well be doubted whether any useful purpose is served by classing together names such as Papini, Marx, Renouvier, Boutroux, Bergson, James, Poincaré, Brunschvicg and Blondel—to mention only a few—under the one all-comprehensive term “pragmatist.” The fact—which Professor Caldwell notes—that M. Blondel independently originated the name *Pragmatisme* proves nothing as to the similarity of his doctrine with that of Anglo-American pragmatism, especially in view of the fact—which Professor Caldwell does not note—that M. Blondel subsequently rejected the term because of the fundamental divergence between his own Philosophy of Action and pragmatism. Perhaps, as Professor Caldwell urges, “the term ‘pragmatism’ is not of itself a matter of great importance,” for “there is no separate, intelligible, independent, self-consistent system of philosophy that may be called pragmatism,” and he uses it as “a general name for the practicalism or voluntarism or humanism or the philosophy of the practical reason, or the activism, or the instrumentalism, or the philosophy of hypotheses, or the dynamic philosophy of life and things.” (p. 22.) Now there undoubtedly is a common element in these variously named philosophies, viz., the insistence upon the philosophical importance of activity, but this is not by itself sufficient to justify our classing together the instrumentalist theory of truth, for instance, and the philosophy of Bergson. The pragmatist elements that Professor Caldwell finds in the philosophy of Bergson are (i) his anti-intellectualism, and (ii) his activism or actionism. With regard to the first, it is surely evident that Bergson’s condemnation of intellect is the result of his view that the structure of the intellect is purely utilitarian. It is just the pragmatic nature of intellect that disqualifies it for speculation as to the nature of reality. While Bergson condemns intellect for being too practical, the pragmatist condemns it for not being practical enough! Bergson, therefore, cannot be reckoned among the allies of pragmatism. With regard to the second ground: it is surely an error to consider that activism is as such bound up with the anti-intellectualism that is essential to pragmatism. It is in accordance with such a wide signification of the term that Professor Caldwell finds a pragmatic element in the “dynamic idealism” of Dr. Bosanquet! But he regards *The Principle of Individuality and Value* as representing an extreme of rational idealism against which pragmatism is a justifiable protest. His treatment of this question is too hurried to be at all convincing, and some of his criticisms are trivial and carping, as for example, when he complains that Dr. Bosanquet uses Dante’s mind for a simile instead of Goethe, who “is of infinitely more value to us men of the twentieth century than Dante.” (p. 215.) The critic here seems to have entirely missed the point of the comparison. It is in the philosophy of Bergson that Professor Caldwell finds the indication of that combination of pragmatism and idealism that he desiderates.

The book is both interesting and opportune, for it gathers together a vast amount of information as to the trend of recent speculation in Europe and America. The historical account is more valuable than the criticisms that accompany it. Anyone anxious to learn the origin and affiliations of a manner of thinking that is popular and widespread could not do better than turn to Professor Caldwell.

L. S. STERRING.

THE EGYPTIAN OF TO-DAY.

A MAN OF EGYPT. By C. S. Cooper. Illustrated. Hodder and Stoughton, 1913.

THE author states in his preface that the object of his book is "to give to the person who stays at home as well as to the prospective Egyptian traveller, a brief, and if possible, an unbiassed idea of the Coming Man of Egypt, in his industrial, educational, political and religious awakenings." This is a formidable task and Mr. Cooper has not failed to equip himself for it. He has had the privilege of conversing with high officials from Lord Kitchener downwards. "I have talked with the Earl of Cromer in London, whose point of view in perspective was especially illuminating; I have studied the Egyptian press, both English and native; I have talked with prominent sheikhs and with the chiefs of Bedouin tribes; I have heard some of the prominent business men, judges, lawyers, and principals of schools discourse upon the sudden rise of industry, education, and civic pride; I have visited personally virtually every type of educational institution in Egypt." He shows how the nation is emerging from the morass of illiteracy. The number of pupils and students in government schools and colleges of all grades was 30,742 in 1911 as against 9,259 in 1890. This does not represent the total of children receiving instruction, for the village elementary schools numbered 3,664 in 1910 with 202,095 pupils, including 15,000 girls, as against 7,536 pupils in 1898. This remarkable increase is due chiefly to the action of the Government in establishing grants-in-aid, amounting in 1910 to £E. 21,888. In addition there are 45,000 pupils receiving instruction in schools not under control by the Government. Outside these again are the schools and colleges of the foreign missions. The establishments of the Jesuits and of the Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul, those of the Church Missionary Society and other bodies are open to Egyptian youth of both sexes. One of the chief establishments is Assiout College, with 825 students, of whom 599 are Protestants. These Protestant converts are Copts, for the conversions from Islam are few and far between. The impression of the technical schools received by Mr. Cooper is distinctly hopeful. There are 4,000 students working in the twenty-six schools devoted to technical and agricultural training. In these, "I beheld the most vital and emotional interest displayed anywhere amongst the youth of Egypt." The boy in the foundry who exclaimed "Isn't it fine to see how one thing bursts into another without breaking?" will probably be more useful to his country than the majority of pupils in another school who, on being asked what career they intended to follow, cried with one voice, "The Law." Of course Mr. Cooper visited Al Azhar, the great university with its 12,000 students from all the nations of Islam. Al Azhar has been compared to Oxford "since the breath and magic of the Middle Ages are alike enshrined in these old-world institutions. Both contain the changeless laws and doctrines of the past, grown old without changing. Both are still the centres of educational and religious conservatism." Al Azhar is "in the same condition to-day as when it was founded in the year 973 A.D." Oxford would not, perhaps, admit the exactitude of the parallel at all points. Al Azhar with its curriculum of twelve years, its undergraduates of all ages between fifteen and seventy, its unfrequented library

with copies of the Koran minutely written in gold on thirty small pages or emblazoned in thirty exquisite volumes, provides the theme of one of the most entertaining chapters in the book.

Space forbids notice of the chapters "Moslem and Copt" and "Islam and Modernity." Copt and Moslem are rivals, and the former complain that the English show partiality to the Moslems. "There is, however, a growing tendency for both Copt and Moslem of the better class to unite upon questions having to do with Egypt's prosperity, and in these questions there is indicated an increasing and common desire of 'Egypt for the Egyptians.'" Mr. Cooper, when he sets down the Moslem as descendants of the Arab conquerors, forgets the enormous numbers of Copts who apostatized at the conquest and subsequently. Elsewhere he says that it is not possible to distinguish the Moslem from the Copt. Both are Nilots in fact, and contrast strongly in physique with the Bedawy of the desert and the Turco-Circassian of the large cities, who is a descendant of the Memlooks. The Egyptian is Arab in tongue but not in race, and he is brother of the Copt in blood. Mr. Cooper is in error, too, in stating that Egyptian students did not begin to visit Europe and America for expert training until 1902. Students were sent to France in the days of Mehemet Ali, and in the reign of Said Pasha. There was an Egyptian boy at the High School of Edinburgh a few years later, and surely the name of one Egyptian was borne on the register of St. John's College, Cambridge, in the 'eighties, whilst a little later some were sent to training colleges. The sending of girls to Europe for their education is, however, a new departure, and very significant in view of the rigidity of Moslem law and custom. The author tells us that the first girl student went in 1901. The results have more than answered expectations. There is a demand among the younger generation for educated wives. But after all Mr. Cooper is vague as to the future Man of Egypt, though he tells us much of the present man. He does say this however: "When a few thousand more of these same Egyptian youths are turned out from modern schools . . . creating a new period of citizenship as well as a new age of industry—then let Britain with her policy 'What we have we hold' be ready for new adjustments. Egypt will speak and Europe and the nations of the earth will hear."

Greater care might have been bestowed both on the writing, which is frequently slipshod, and on the revision of the book. The slips are almost without number. Assiout is such a well-known place that it ought not to be miscalled "Assuit" as it is repeatedly in these pages, although it is rightly spelt on the title of a photograph. One of the many teachers whom the author interviewed might have told him that fellaheen is the plural of fellah; yet we have on page 288 "the average Egyptian fellaheen knows," and on page 17, "the weary fellaheen dreams," whilst on page 231 occurs a slip in the other direction, "for what the Copt consider." The founder of the present Egyptian dynasty, a native of Cavalla, called himself Mehemet Ali, after the Turkish custom, and as Mehemet Ali his name is known in history. He never learned Arabic, although some of his contemporaries called him, in Arab fashion, Mohammed Ali. Mr. Cooper follows neither. Nor does he adopt the French substitute, Mahomet, but writes him down Mehomet Ali. One must not carp at the transliteration of Arabic words, though *galabeighs* hardly conveys the sound of *galabeah*. But there is no excuse for miscalling such a familiar theological term as Monophysite which on page 223 occurs as "Monothysite," an expression

devoid of meaning. One would prefer "helots" to "healots" (p. 174). On page 190 we read of "Eton, where Cromwell aptly said that the great battles of England were fought and decided"! Z.D.F.

THE MAKING OF GARDEN CITY.

THE GARDEN CITY. By C. B. Purdom. With four coloured plates by T. Friedensen, and numerous photographs. J. M. Dent and Sons, 1913. 10/6 net.

THIS is a carefully written account of the foundation and history of the Garden City of Letchworth. Its origins, its ten years of growth, its architecture, rural belt, industries, arts, recreations, and the possibilities of its future are all examined, while valuable information is arranged in the appendices, by various authors, on the land tenure, the town-planning, the ideals, and the technical aspects of the place.

The writer is well read and not deficient in the sense of humour. Perhaps it is because of these idiosyncrasies that his candour conveys more than he seems to realise, and that his enthusiasm, the reader feels, is more for some unattained "great good place," as Henry James puts it, than for the result of the earnest attempt which we contemplate as Letchworth. There is a kind of wistfulness in some of these pages known only to those acquainted with the ironies that attend the materialisation of a dream. There is also, however, an indomitable desire to remain cheerful and to make the best of what has been accomplished.

The City in the Garden, the Garden in the City—that conception has always haunted the mind of man as a supremely suave and felicitous form of human congregation, evident even in odd ancient traditions of Eden as a kind of castellated hill-town, refreshed by the springing of the four great rivers, in persistent reveries concerning the hanging gardens of Babylon, and the groves of Athens, and basking pleasure places of the Mediterranean, or the flowery towns of romance, like Camelot and Miraflores and Beaucaire. Even the actual closely pressed mediæval burg invited brook and tree; and the real Renaissance city called the country-side rejoicingly to its embrace. Indeed, all cities born before the grip of the capitalist had power to make or absolutely to mar them plainly desire to be garden-cities.

It is just as much the nature of a countryside to grow cities as to grow wheat or firs or olives or vines. The carven masks and foliage on beautiful building appeal to faun and dryad not to abandon the clustering dwellings. If the garden-gods entirely vanish, it is because the increasing greed and insensibility of the money-getter dismally convert the city into a slum for the poor and a counting-house for the rich,—a nest of ugly warrens or grim model tenements for the serfs, a blatant and senseless array of façades for their exploiters. The story of different efforts to protest against this consummation—sincere though fumbling labours towards the re-creation of a nobler form of visible community—introduces this volume. We are told of projects such as those of Robert Owen and James Silk Buckingham, and other anxious and meritorious schemes somewhat uninspired by civic imagination. We hear also of the energetic enterprises of one or two modern capitalists; and last we reach this earnest and valuable attempt on

the part of a group of people, instigated by Mr. Ebenezer Howard, to make a modern town without its evils—to build a garden city in a plain.

The plan and the endeavour all seem rational—too rational. Cities are born, not made, as the founders have quite evidently been told with great frequency, and the best town-planning is, like the best education, auxiliary rather than initiatory. Of course the cities of old were conscious enough, in that they obeyed a tradition urging them to glorious building; but their beginnings were predestined. The site of the real city must be inevitable, determined by geographical conditions. Letchworth is where it is simply because so much land was there purchasable for so much money. It has confessedly not yet begun to fulfil its eager intentions, and the very heart and centre of its plan remains blank. But that does not discredit anybody or anything, except the spirit of the age. The old order is ended; the new is not yet in sight. And Letchworth remains a suburb. Nor does one believe it can become anything else, because its inhabitants are not of the region. The dwellers are people who toil by day in London, or persons with small private incomes from anywhere, or imported factory workers, many of whom, the author sadly admits, prefer to live in Hitchin. Many an old English county town that has been decently let alone, with its meadows and waterways, its lifted towers, its discreet and dignified houses, its pleasant cottage plots of old-fashioned flowers, is more of a garden city than this. That may have its stains and imperfections; but the core of the thing is human.

Of course Mr. Purdom has some praiseworthy incident to record, such as the defeat of the speculative builder; and his sense of the wickedness of most contemporary architecture is admirable. But even in Letchworth exists the invidiously labelled "workman's cottage"; and the historian admits that the development of an area to the west of the town for industrial purposes is a severe blow to the original intention. The unfortunate results of the accident of the Exhibition of Cheap Cottages during the genesis of Letchworth is clearly underlined. It may also be sufficiently true, as the author suggests, that vacuity rather than effusion in the minds of present-day architects is responsible for many of the feeble or forced structures in the Garden City. Still, of all artists, the architect is not restricted by his clients, so that the architecture of an age remains the most just criterion of its psychology and sociology. It is not surprising, therefore, that a body of inspired builders did not suddenly appear upon the site of the new town. Still, several of the houses illustrated in his volume make an agreeable impression, and the old incorporated villages have been carefully respected.

Mr. Purdom has written a competent and interesting book; but, just as the centre of his city remains unfulfilled, so the communal life is not revealed as actual, nor are the civic ideals made plain. Even the school has been yielded to the "authorities," and the hope that classes might be limited to thirty-two children left unrealised—a sadly significant detail. Perhaps the writer has not completely grasped the analysis of a city, as formulated, say, by Professor Geddes. He hardly imagines how hills and plains and rivers conspire with the conscious and unconscious nobilities of man to make the thing worthy of that great name. Nor does he quite realise that not all of us wish to see factories, however improved, planted over the fair meadows of England, or to pen the workers in compounds, however hygienic, however thoughtfully composed of cottages with a bath and copper in the scullery—preferring that such factories as must exist

should be humanely rebuilt in their own place, consuming their own smoke, while their toilers live like freemen among other freemen.

With all its optimism this record leaves the heart a little heavy. Is this the best our idealists can do? Probably it is. They are timid, for the pride of life has been scourged out of them by the dominion of plutocracy. The old order had its magnificences, irretrievably part of the world's tradition; but now we endure all the miseries of transition. It is yet too early to build a garden city, to beat the swords into pruning-hooks before they have completed their natural uses.

ADRIAN BERRINGTON.

MARRIAGE AND RELATIONSHIP TERMS.

KINSHIP AND SOCIAL ORGANISATION. By W. H. R. Rivers, M.D., F.R.S. (Studies in Economic and Political Science, No. 36). London: Constable and Co., 1914. 2/6 net.

THE three lectures embodied in this remarkable little volume "are largely based on experience gained in the work of the Percy Sladen Trust Expedition to Melanesia of 1908, and give a simplified record of social conditions which will be described in detail in the full account." Dr. Rivers's aim is to show that "the terminology of relationship has been rigorously determined by social conditions"; in other words, that the terms for relationship, wherever occurring in the world, denote actual facts of marriage-relations. It may be said at once that his demonstration of the theorem (in some cases beautifully worked out by the method of concomitant variations) is convincing, though not yet complete. As far as it goes, and that is a long way, it is the most decisive piece of sociological reasoning yet achieved, and it will assist enormously in removing the reproach against sociology that "it is not a science." For it establishes by absolute logical proof that here at least sociology is "rigorously deterministic."

The author's chief field is the classification system, and he makes an impressive apology for the great work, consistently misunderstood, of Lewis Morgan, though he corrects his unwarranted inferences from his splendid and well-digested material. He wisely refuses to believe in either primitive promiscuity or primitive monogamy, or that the terms were terms of address. As for group-marriage, he deprecates the term, and suggests "sexual communism," and shrewdly surmises that such forms of marriage may be late. An opportunity for pressing the logical view that only social conditions can produce social terminologies, was afforded by Professor's Kroeber's recent view that linguistic and psychological causes alone can be applied to explain terms of relationship. Extremely simple and interesting cases illustrate the forcible argument of the author. In the well-known cross-cousin marriage, when C (male) and d (female) marry, A, mother's brother of C, becomes his wife's father; b, A's wife, becomes his wife's mother. This, and other logical results, have been actually found to be facts. Again, in the Banks Islands, cross-cousins apply to one another terms of relationship which are otherwise used between parents and children. And as a fact a man does take the widow of his mother's brother.

Similarly is explained the remarkable fact that persons two generations apart are classed together; Raga, *e.g.* "is the place where they marry their granddaughters." To give further instances would be to spoil the reader's

pleasure in this convincing sketch. Its principle should be applied at once to all the marriage systems of the world, especially those of Australia. The author has applied it in a few illustrative cases to our own. On the whole the theory looks like one of those things which elude all minds for ages, but which, when discovered, seem to be quite obvious. And that is the way with truth.

A. E. CRAWLEY.

THE HISTORIAN AS SOCIOLOGIST.

THE EVOLUTION OF STATES : An Introduction to English Politics. By J. M. Robertson. Watts & Co. 5s. net.

WERE this a new treatise, it would require and deserve a much longer notice than is here possible. Even as an expansion of a work published some years ago, it has two special claims on the attention of sociologists : it recognises the need of sociology for the interpretation of history ; and it deals with one of the most fertile, possibly the very central, approach to the study of the science—the evolution of society as shown in the historic record. To this line of attack, the biological, the psychological, the anthropological, are only preliminary. To this the purely economic and other studies of one or other side of the social process, should be strictly subordinate. It provides the synthesis that should follow every analysis. Mr. Robertson, indeed, does not profess to write a treatise on the historic method in sociology ; but he applies it to the study of various problems in history, and deals in his trenchant style with some dangerous fallacies that have long beset such investigations. The book is divided into several parts. The first three deal with the political, economic and culture forces in the ancient world, the fourth with the Italian Republics of the mediæval and early modern period, the fifth—which is perhaps the most original, as it will certainly be the least known to the majority of readers—with the smaller states, Holland, the Scandinavian countries, Switzerland and Portugal, while in the last he comes to the more familiar ground of English history.

There are four fallacies of which the author is the determined opponent ; and in attacking these he has done a great service to historic sociology. The first, which is the most popular and therefore the most dangerous, is the theory of race, the explanation of history by the supposed racial characteristics of each people. He has no difficulty in showing—and he very much enjoys the process—that the same "race" in different periods of history under different circumstances has acted in entirely different ways : that, for instance, Teutons have been at one time adventurous and seafaring, at another immobile and agricultural, that they have been noted for their turbulence and again for their abject submission, that the Teuton and the Celt—supposed to exhibit such violent contrasts—have often interchanged the characteristics that were supposed to be indelible. The whole racial explanation of history is an example of the futility of purely biological explanations in sociology. Another fallacy, also biologic in its inception, is the theory that states, like individuals, have their growth, maturity, and necessary decay. It may be true that Humanity as a whole, under the influence of climatic changes, is destined after long æons to decay. But the life of each state shows no such process, which is founded solely on a false analogy between the state and the biologic organism. Of more practical application is the author's refutation of "the vulgar delusion

that 'possessions' are the great sources of a nation's wealth." Taking, among other instances, the case of Holland, which the supporters of the impugned theory put forward as one of the strongest on their side, he shows that at the period of greatest national prosperity, the colonial trade was in every way inferior to the fisheries, and that war in the modern world is the worst enemy both of free institutions and of material well-being. Finally, he repudiates the common material standard by which civilisations are often judged. "What may be termed the coal-civilisations, with their factitious rapidity of exploitation, are in the nature of the case relatively ugly and impermanent."

There are, however, one or two points where he condemns the true with the false. For instance, he not only refuses to believe in a French race, but even objects to France being considered as a whole, except when it is united in fighting some outside enemy. But surely, though in every internal contest Frenchmen will be found on either side, there is, as a result of its previous historic and consequent social tradition, a determination in particular directions. Frenchmen fighting Frenchmen will still be conditioned by the antecedents of their country—as well as by the wider antecedents of La Vendée and the Cevennes. The national character and national tendencies will change as circumstances change, but they will change gradually, will retain a certain continuity through long ages, and will exert an influence on civilisation which may be for centuries in one direction. In this sense, such expressions as "France" and "Frenchmen," as used by earlier sociologists, seem scarcely to deserve the opprobrium which Mr. Robertson so unsparingly applies. So, too, when he identifies militarism with conservatism in the higher stages of civilisation, should it not be remembered that, in an earlier stage, the theocracies, comparatively peaceful, were the most conservative communities, in comparison with which the military states of antiquity represented freedom and progress. A more serious blemish is Mr. Robertson's failure to recognise, in his account of the middle ages, the advantages alike to unity and freedom of the existence of a spiritual power, separate from the temporal and dependent, always in theory and often in practice, on other arms than those of force. It is true that the absolute doctrines of the Church impelled it towards Theocracy and kept it from necessary adaptations, so that in the end it became enslaved to the temporal power. It should also be said, to Mr. Robertson's credit, that if he is unduly severe on the mediæval Church, in the subsequent period he holds the balance very even between Catholic and Protestant. One apparent contradiction on another subject may be mentioned. A nation immersed in commerce will be drawn away from intellectual pursuits, and surely the same is true of a nation immersed in politics. Yet we are told that without free political institutions, the intellectual life of a nation cannot flourish. Is this true of France, as compared with England in the middle of the eighteenth century? Is not the second statement too simple? Is not the truth rather that the same causes often destroy both political and intellectual freedom?

Coming to more general considerations, it may be noted that Mr. Robertson is far from belonging to the materialist school of history founded by Marx. He gives great weight to cultural elements, to political animosities, as in the case of the abandonment of the French language by the English aristocracy, and even to the influence of personalities. His stress on economics does not imply the exclusion of other elements, and for a survey no objection can be taken to this stress; but for a theory of progress,

is it not the continuous cultivation of science which has been the main cause of the greater rapidity of change in the last four centuries? In his account of the causes underlying the differences between Greek and Roman civilisation, he is in line with most of the sociological interpreters of history. In modern Europe, his exposition suffers somewhat by the absence of an *explicit* theory of the history of the West; for the first simplification the study allows is the separation of the common elements in the history of all or most of the Western nations from the elements due to the special environment of each. No notice, for instance, is taken of the close—though of course not perfect—correspondence between the power of Imperial Rome and the victory of Catholicism at the Reformation—the less Romanised countries being the chief scene of Protestant triumph. It is even suggested that some slight changes in the sixteenth century might have made Spain Protestant. It is a sign of Mr. Robertson's great power that, though without a general theory, he is not overwhelmed by his wealth of local facts.

S. H. SWINNY.

LIFE, EMOTION AND INTELLECT. By Cyril Bruyn Andrews. T. Fisher Unwin. 5s. net.

At the moment when feelings are vigorously translating themselves into deeds, necessarily under the guidance of the intellect, sensation, thought and will are indistinguishable from each other. In this book, accordingly, Mr. Andrews neglects these artificial distinctions in order to study emotion defined as

"that condition of the human mind in which past experiences seem to come back with unusual vividness and meaning, but in which the intellectual chain which used to bind them together seems to become misty and unreal, in which remembrances of the past and feelings of the present rush violently, yet apparently unsummoned, into consciousness—that condition of the mind in which a being foreign to ourselves in some ways, and absolutely ourselves in others, seems to have command over our actions, in which a feeling of supernatural control is combined with an intimate self-realization and self-consciousness—when we find ourselves sometimes startled, sometimes pleased, in a state where willing and unwilling, pleasure and pain, seem to lose much of their meaning and to be empty words belonging to another and a different world."

All through the writer pleads for the direct, natural expression of emotion, which would consist, he believes, not in those manifestations of degeneracy, such as masochism and sadism, of which there is so much talk nowadays, but in "acts as wholesome as the sun at noonday." The shy Anglo-Saxon is better than he seems, and the secrets that his reserve shelters are often very beautiful. Why, then are there "few men in any profession who are willing to boast that they have imagination as well as method; a vision as well as a time-table; who care to acknowledge that they love as well as study their fellow men?" Rather than that these 'fine-nerved humanities' should be repressed, Mr. Andrews would willingly tolerate the display of some other emotions, like revenge, or revolutionary pugnacity or unreasoning conservatism in religion, which are not so beneficent. Here he betrays a certain lack of idealistic imagination; and yet the book evidences a faith in humanity which, if it is not stated in poetic language, is refreshing and stimulating.

M. E. R.

THE IRISH QUESTION. (Reprinted from the *Round Table*.) Macmillan & Co. 6d.

THIS anonymous pamphlet is written in a moderate tone and seeks to find by a careful discussion of many aspects of the Irish question a means of agreement. It is to be feared, however, that in a world where Orangemen and Nationalists have strong feelings, and the Parliament Act dominates the situation, it will be difficult to revive the spirit of compromise, even if it be desirable. The importance of the pamphlet is much enhanced by a foreword from Sir Horace Plunkett, who wishes to express his complete agreement with the author on one point, his "insistence upon the unity of Ireland." Holding that the chaos of opinion on the Irish question is largely due to considerations other than Irish ones which have obtruded themselves upon the controversy, he yet welcomes a new factor of this kind, the extension of federal government to the four elements of the United Kingdom.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

GERMAN.

In the ARCHIV FÜR RASSEN-UND GESELLSCHAFTS BIOLOGIE for March there is an article on *Religion und Geburtenrückgang* which should be interesting to sociologists. The writer, Professor Julius Wolf, expresses the opinion that the decay of religious faith is one of the direct causes of the fall of the birth-rate. At the end of the article he draws attention to the extended inquiry which Levenstein has recently made as to the religion of miners, metallists, and workpeople engaged in the textile industries. Out of 712 Berlin metal-workers whom this investigator questioned on the subject only twenty professed any faith in God. "The confidence and the moral sustenance which they formerly sought in the church they now obtain from the upspringing fountain of socialistic activity. Their faith and energy are directed to the things of this world. They have taken the responsibility of mankind on themselves, and are making organised efforts to meet that obligation."—Dr. Grassl contributes a demographic article in which he maintains that the question of over- and under-population would not arise if modern societies observed nature's law of keeping the child dependent upon the mother for a whole year. He does not explain why the period of dependence should not, as among the Jews of the Middle Ages, be two years; or, as in Japan, three years; or, as among other peoples, five or six or seven years. The reason is that he is bent on recommending an ideal—that each married woman should have a child every two years. His researches were made in Bavaria. He reckons that for each mother in that province the normal number of children, if she is married at twenty-three, is ten. He deplores the hygiene of the modern nursery because it relieves the mother of much of the educational work that Nature intended her to perform, and affords her some non-vicarious distinction and enjoyment. He condemns neo-malthusianism on the ground that it tends to reduce the birth-rate faster than the infant death-rate.—Another attractive article in this number is *Rassewertung in der hellenischen Philosophie*, by Dr. Lenz. It is for the most part an exposition of the philosophy of the Cynics. Dr. Lenz opposes the race ideal to that of culture, intellectualism, individualism and humanitarianism. Very clearly does he demonstrate the action of the crude and cruel race instinct which prompts one to declare, "My own clan is the noblest," by reference to the symbol by which Antisthenes advertised his philosophy to the world, and which gave its name to the school to which he belonged. The dog is loyal to his master's tribe and hostile to all other tribes. Hence it suitably typifies not only the teaching of the Cynics, but also the Pan-German doctrines which inculcate contempt for every kind of individualism, socialism and internationalism.

This German Cynicism has an able exponent in the Editor of the POLITISCH-ANTHROPOLOGISCHE REVUE. In the January, February and March numbers respectively he discusses "The Educational Problem from the Standpoint of Race Biology," "The Greatest Evil of our Time and its Remedy," and "How can Class Antagonism be mitigated?" To the question put forward in the last paper he answers, "The best, the greatest, the

most effective means of reconciliation is a righteous war produced by vigorous national sentiment. And from such a trial of strength we shall not be spared. Sooner or later war will surely come." The same truculent spirit manifests itself in the educational article, which is a plea for the establishment of schools for children of pure German extraction which would be free from the influence of Jews. The competition of the Jewish boys and girls he regards as harmful because they reach maturity at an earlier age than the native children. On this psychological ground the writer's critics will stand side by side with him; but from the position which he takes up at the end of the article they will dissociate themselves. In the last sentence he assures his readers that if the "Aryan" culture which he recommends were realised "the course of the whole world's history would cease to follow misleading tracks and would assume the right direction." As for "the greatest evil of our day," this is individualism, especially that form of it which is promoted by social democracy and by pacificism. Dr. Schmidt-Gibichenfels prophesies the failure of these movements. No social system of thought and conduct can maintain itself, he argues, unless it is supported by authority, for the most part of a military nature, directing organised forces; and such organisations are of very slow national growth. The Englishman's comment on that assertion will probably be—the German Empire itself is not fifty years old; socialism has been developing in Germany for at least fifty-five years; and the peace movement has a world history extending over a whole century.

Also received:—*Bulletin de l'Institut de Sociologie Solvay* (Nos. 29 and 30); *Le Musée social, Annales* (December, January, February); *Le Musée social, Mémoires et Documents* (December, January, February); *Vierteljahrsschrift für wissenschaftliche Philosophie und Soziologie* (December).

FRENCH.

The 1913-14 session of the Paris Sociological Society, which is being devoted to the discussion of "Economic Liberalism," was opened by M. Yves Guyot, whose paper appears in the *REVUE INTERNATIONALE DE SOCIOLOGIE* for December. His argument may be summed up in a sentence which he quotes from Quesnay—"The merchants of other nations are our own merchants." He finds the germ of this free-trade ideal in the substitution of barter for robbery in early times, and the full flower in the contractual system of exchange practised by the Manchester individualists. He describes the *laissez-faire* policy as the realisation of productive civilisation; while he identifies every form of group-bargaining, monopoly-holding, and paternal legislation with destructive or military civilisation. In the second lecture, which is reported in the January number, M. Rabany opposes war to economic liberalism in the same way; but he points out that for the workers no such thing as freedom in bargaining has ever existed, and that State interference with their concerns, under the conditions of machine industry, is a necessary provision for the future welfare of the race. The third lecture, printed in the February number, was given by M. René Worms, who showed that no country has ever adopted, or could adopt, economic liberalism unconditionally. It was a virile doctrine, and the men who preached it were "professors of energy"; but if it were not tempered with the teachings of socialists and protectionists it would bring about national destruction. At the same time the weak owed the strong a large debt of gratitude for spreading it abroad. The workman naturally

rebelled against the "administrative nihilism" of the Manchester school of economists, but it was they who had given him the idea of winning freedom for himself by means of trade-unionism and education.

LA SCIENCE SOCIALE for January is entitled *La fonction de l'élite dans la société moderne*. It is the work of M. Paul Rousiers, who has written it as a sequel to his treatise on the directors and managers of industrial and commercial undertakings, and as an introduction to an essay on the education of men of superior intellect and character which he is preparing. Here he discusses the non-compulsory services of such men to the community. He maintains that it is the wide range of the knowledge on which they act that constitutes the greatness of the leaders of a nation, particularly of the artists and the men of science, who present every subject of discussion from many points of view. He therefore deplores the trade-union spirit in which the servants of the government so often perform their duties nowadays. The upper classes no longer claim any well-defined responsibility for the welfare of the lower; and the latter, for their part, interpret their privileges as parliamentary electors as the right to realise their sectional interests without regard to those of the people at large. M. Rousiers suggests that self-interest in these new forms could be converted into public spirit by more careful study and better organisation of all the group interests, the chief representatives of which ought to compare every set with every other set, and thus form a new State philosophy which would give each calling its just place in the life of the nation. He sees the beginnings of such a philosophy in the many social-service organisations of England, and in the political leadership which university men are undertaking in America. The December and the February surveys relate, the one to *L'industrie rurale à domicile en Normandie*, the other to *Le montagnard auvergnat*. Among the paragraphs of general interest to sociologists which precede the latter study are some noteworthy methodological observations drawn from Professor Bergson's centenary speech on Claude Bernard, and a short essay on *Les fonctions de la cité* by M. Hottenger, who states that Grenoble is now the only town in France in which the gas supply is not in private hands. He attributes the failure of municipal enterprise among his countrymen to State government of the communes. "Behind the democratic façade it is always beaureaucratic work that is being done." The quotation from the speech is a protest against the artificial distinction that is made between the collector of data and the inventor of hypotheses. "To generalise is not merely to use cut-and-dried facts. It is not so much a special procedure, as a certain force of mind which enables one to guess the inner meaning of a fact that is the key to the explanation of a large number of other facts. In short, the disposition to synthetise is only a development of the disposition to analyse."

The place of honour in the REVUE DE MÉTAPHYSIQUE ET DE MORALE for January is given to a paper on *Religion et raison*, in which M. Emile Boutroux reconciles the two spheres of thought and action by making an ingenious Platonic distinction between concept and idea, and marking out religion as the chief theatre of the latter and science of the former. The concept is the outcome of the logical arrangement of ready-made facts. The idea "consists in bringing the light of experience, history and science to bear upon the ideals of living and becoming perfect which one forms naturally in the social clash and communion of wills and intelligences. A great idea is one which has been derived from the past, but has a formative and ameliorative influence on future generations."

The BULLETIN DE LA STATISTIQUE GÉNÉRALE DE LA FRANCE for the first quarter of the year contains a study of *Le travail des femmes en divers pays*. So extensive is the survey that the author, M. Marcel de Ville-Chabrolle, has been able to bring his figures up to 1907 only. At that time 25 per cent. of the women of the British Isles were engaged in some industry or profession. The proportion was 40 per cent. in France and Austria, 14 per cent. in the United States, and 28 to 30 per cent. in the German Empire, Luxembourg, Denmark and Switzerland. It is in farming that the greatest differences between one country and another manifest themselves. Thus in the United Kingdom only 7 and in America only 9 per cent. of the wage-earning women are working on the land; while in France the proportion is 40 per cent., in Luxembourg 42 per cent., in the German Empire 47 per cent., and in Austria 50 per cent. As far as official and professional work is concerned the British Isles come at the top of the list with nearly 200 per 10,000 of the women inhabitants; while in France, the German Empire, Denmark, Switzerland and the United States the number is only from 100 to 150 per 10,000. In the United Kingdom and the States teaching, medical work and the dramatic arts are chosen by women oftener than elsewhere: and in all industrial countries the employment of women increased steadily between 1885 and 1907. M.E.R.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN.

THE OPEN COURT for February is published in celebration of Professor Haeckel's eightieth birthday and its various articles, all bearing on the same subject, form a very fair survey of Professor Haeckel's work. In reading the opening article by the Editor one cannot help feeling that the pure scientist often makes a poor philosopher or metaphysician. The significance of the various different schools of monists which have already sprung up cannot be ignored, and it may be felt that in forming the German Monistic League and attempting a world-conception Professor Haeckel hardly appreciated the importance of disunity in the furtherance of progressive thought: such attempts at a complete scientific comprehension of the universe probably belong rather to the last century than to the present one. Professor Haeckel in his own article seems to state very little when he says that all science is "natural" science, and when he attempts to put forward a view "free from all traditional dogmas" many may consider that he is attempting an obvious impossibility. The pitfalls of language, both physiological and psychological, are plainly evident in a discussion of monism, and Professor Haeckel in his present article practically ignores the difficulties of consciousness and of ultimate truth. Monism will no doubt be an important stepping-stone in the progress both of science and philosophy, but its attempt to establish one universal truth seems to have already faded into past history. The third article by Dr. W. Breitenbach gives an interesting account of the progress of Haeckel's evolutionary theories, and describes how many of Darwin's opponents have now absorbed these theories as part of their own. While acknowledging the importance of Sir Ernest Shafer's statements on spontaneous generation he acknowledges that very often the original creative act is merely driven back to plant or cell life. Dr. Breitenbach considers that philosophy and the Church must either revert to mediæval scholasticism or come to some understanding with the facts of anthropology and construct a new world-conception.

The Editor in a second article entitled "Religion in a Monistic Interpretation," admits that monism often tilts at windmills, and that in the victory of the unitary world-conception the abuse of religion should cease: he considers that with a fuller realization of the importance of hero-worship and of the God idea as the first sense of order, the necessity of building on the past becomes obvious. In Professor Haeckel's eulogy of the work of Professor Ostwald, the President of the German Monistic League, the neglect of all philosophic difficulties is very apparent. The strict division between science and the supernatural may seem to the modern thinker curiously strained; it is perhaps more usual at present to regard the supernatural as merely that which is beyond our *present* conception, and even in science it is generally allowed that the only possibility of growth is towards that which is outside its bounds; to say that transcendentalism has only an emotional value seems a stifling and narrow view. Philosophy, in the opinion of Professor Haeckel, lapsed into unpopularity because of its hasty generalizations which displeased the naturalists of the first half of the nineteenth century, and he suggests that it is to Professor Ostwald that we owe the higher type of monistic nature-philosophy which has enlarged monism into a philosophy and freed it from its mechanistic or materialistic character by emphasizing its "energetic" side. Professor Haeckel, however, makes no attempt to deal with the natural repugnance of mankind to a "universal philosophy" nor the influence of Eastern mysticism on European thought. In the last article, which deals with Conservatism and morality, Mr. Blaise lays stress on the important truth that all conceptions imply conflict and that what we call prejudice, sentiment, or bad logic, is often merely a point of view which we fail to realize. "The thing that is old ever abhors the thing to be unless the latter serves as a complement or synergist to the former"; a modern truth can only embellish an old one. Rules of conduct must be continually re-born if they are to survive and a conservatism that excludes the future from its view degenerates into mere scepticism. Mr. Blaise gives an excellent description of true conservatism, and suggests that if people lived as God acted there would be less need of quarrelling over what he was supposed to have said. This appears to follow the line of several modern philosophers who believe that actions savour more of reality than words. While acknowledging the non-morality of science, the essential morality of every act, and therefore of every act in thought, is strongly insisted on. It is suggested that the purely theoretical wrong thought does not exist since thought must necessarily hang round action, and the present popular demand for employment is brought forward as evidence of the growing realization that in action and labour lie "true dignity and genuine sanctity."

THE ECONOMIC JOURNAL, March. In this number Mr. P. H. Wicksteed has an article entitled "The Scope and Method of Political Economy in the light of the Marginal theory of value and of distribution," and his broad outlook should do much to widen and improve our economic theories. Excellent as are most of Mr. Wicksteed's terms, occasional statements appear which may perhaps require a little criticism. It is suggested, for example, that in order to obtain some conception of what are, and what are not, economic actions, the action done entirely for its own sake may be regarded as uneconomic: yet making a thing for the sake of making it may be economic if it stops the maker from buying a similar article from some one else; the very fact of making the thing may also stop the worker

from performing work which could be more properly called economic and even by his so-called uneconomic work he may often create desires in others which can only be satisfied by economic transactions. With a few such exceptions Mr. Wicksteed has a fundamental grasp of the real nature of economic theory; his treatment of the subjective side of economics is excellent, and his suggestion that the economic equilibrium produced by balance of various desires in the person should be treated as identical with the equilibrium produced by the same desire on different people is well worth serious attention. There is no doubt that in the past almost all economists have excluded too arbitrarily transactions which seemed to them outside the circle of economic exchange; it is perhaps not often realized that such heterogeneous desires as fresh eggs and friendship are often balanced when choosing a town or a country house. Mr. Wicksteed considers that our reconstructed system of economics should be another application of the principle of Aristotle's *Ethics*, and that we should no longer imagine that by picking out a few scattered psychological facts we have reached a true system of psychological economics. He has some interesting criticism of the two curves of demand and supply used by many economists, and emphasizes the fact that the cost of production of one thing is nothing more than an "alias" of efficiencies in the production of other things; he hopes that before long all factors of production, however heterogeneous, may be reduced to a common measure and that such curves as land curves should, if true, be treated as universal curves. He considers that the confusion between the geometric properties of arbitrarily selected constant factors in a diagram and the economic property of land has not only brought confusion into economic thought but is likely to be particularly mischievous in its misdirection of social imagination and aspiration. Everyone will agree that it is of the utmost importance to fulfil Jevons's dream and re-establish economics on a "sensible basis."

THE SCOTTISH GEOGRAPHICAL MAGAZINE for March contains a paper by Mr. H. J. Findlay on "The Scope of School Geography" which should be of considerable value to teachers. Mr. Findlay considers that the term geography has recently developed such a wide meaning that some new definition is necessary; he considers that in the advanced, as well as in the elementary, classes, the British Empire as a geographical unit should be strictly excluded: politics, he considers, introduce complications which are in no sense geographical; natural divisions should come first and political boundaries should be deferred till later. While appeals to the eye such as lantern slides should be valuable adjuncts it must not be forgotten that the main function of geography is to teach the child that he is living in a world dominated by laws capable of analysis and explanation. Man should be accepted as the standard of reference in geographical study although certain reservations must be made in regard to the method of applying this principle. Mr. Findlay considers that the young mind is often incapable of grasping generalities and these must be discovered rather than taught. The geography of the child's near environment should be taught concurrently with that of the wider world outside; a broader knowledge of the home climate and the various characteristics of the neighbourhood should enable him gradually to apply abstractly what he has learnt concretely, but it must never be forgotten that a measure is necessary and the measure must be that of his own surroundings. Mr. Findlay laments the fact that this measure, though emphasized in the opening

stages, is completely lost sight of until towards the end of the course a return is made to the local Ordnance Survey Sheet. Other sciences, he considers, should be introduced incidentally and their influence traced, but geography lessons should not be converted into a general knowledge course.

THE TOWN PLANNING REVIEW for January contains an interesting article on "Town Planning and the Rural Population," in which Professor Adshead draws a terrible picture of the effects of rural development if no system of planning is adopted, and his æsthetic opinions will no doubt appeal to the cultured class of to-day. His description of the old-fashioned village is delightful, although some may wonder whether its chief charms are not ultimately connected with inefficiency and unconscious simplicity. If this really prove true, the advocates of town planning find themselves in a rather dubious position. Town planning can certainly not be unconscious and it is doubtful whether our practical nature will ever allow us to make it inefficient. We may praise inefficiency if it is the price we have to pay for a certain freedom for individuality and personal caprice, but in a scheme for town planning no such excuse would be present and we should do nothing but condemn the waste of time and money. Whatever views therefore we may hold on the merits of conscious and unconscious beauty we must allow that a town-planning scheme can neither be unconscious nor inefficient. A second, and perhaps an even more serious, difficulty also presents itself: no class feeling is to be aroused and yet a large part of the population are "to be housed," which is a distinctly different thing from housing themselves. Presumably some part of the population would be allowed a certain latitude for individual taste, but the whole population must be willing to have the town planned for them and for the greater part of the population must be willing to be housed. Before any scheme of town planning can really succeed two important tendencies must show themselves more plainly than they do at present; first, there must be a far greater local patriotism among all classes of the towns and villages; and, secondly, we must become more unconsciously socialistic in our ideas. When we feel socialistic legislation pressing on us a reaction is almost inevitable; it is only when we have unconsciously incorporated a certain amount of socialistic feeling into our individual desires that schemes of town-planning can become a lasting success.

C. B. A.

ITALIAN.

RIVISTA ITALIANA DI SOCIOLOGIA, Sept.—Dec., 1913.—Signor Pareto employs statistics of commerce and exchange in tracing the relation between the social condition of a people and the variations in its economic prosperity. Sig. A. D. Xénopol contributes a short article on positive science and historical science. History works, he says, in materials utterly diverse from those of the positive sciences, and the methods used in these last cannot be applied to history. For while the phenomena of the visible world are perpetually repeated with negligible differences and can be resumed in the formulæ of laws, the facts of development, which belong to a pre-existing reality, continue but do not repeat themselves, and constitute historic series but not laws. Sig. Ricci discusses statistical method and its limitations. Sig. Sensini contributes a long article on the

equilibrium of the composition of the social classes with mathematical diagrams and illustrations. Sig. Tucci discusses recent theories of totemism and exogamy.

RIVISTA INTERNAZIONALE, Dec., 1913.—Sig. Corsanego writes on the defects in the working of the present Italian railway system with suggestions for remedying them and improving the control and management generally.—Sig. Grilli continues a study of Colonial experiments in Neo-Latin Africa.—Sig. Corridore discusses some statistics of longevity.—Sig. Tolli contributes a short article on the Italian Anti-slavery Society.

January, 1914.—Sig. Main writes on the Panama Canal.—Sig. Grilli concludes his study of the Neo-Latin Colonies in Africa.—Sig. Bruguier continues a paper on the Agro Romano and civic customs.

February, 1914.—Sig. Main continues his paper on the Panama Canal.—Sig. Grilli continues a study of Neo-Latin Colonies in Africa.—Sig. Pasteris continues an account of his mission to the Baltic.

The *Cronaca Sociale* contains an interesting brief account of our Home Rule crisis.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1913.

THE following is the Report of the Council for the year 1913, presented to the Annual General Meeting of Members on March 31, 1914 :—

During the year the Society continued its various activities, of which the chief were the holding of meetings for the reading and discussion of papers, and the issue of the *Sociological Review*. The meetings held during the first term were as follows :—

January 28. Sir J. George Scott, K.C.I.E., on "The Position of Women in Burma." Sir Frederic Fryer in the chair. (The paper was published in the *Sociological Review*, April, 1913.)

February 11. Mr. H. W. V. Temperley on "Federalism." The Earl of Dunraven in the chair.

February 24. Mr. Maurice S. Thompson on "Economic and Social Conditions in the Southern Balkans." Mr. G. P. Gooch in the chair. (*Sociological Review* for July, 1913.)

March 11. The Annual General Meeting, followed by a paper by Mr. Norman Angell on "The Foundations of International Polity." The Right Hon. Sir Frederick Pollock in the chair.

April 22. Mr. A. E. Crawley on "The Unconscious Reason in Social Evolution." Mr. J. A. Hobson in the chair. (*Sociological Review*, July, 1913.)

May 7. Dr. Harold Mann, Principal of the Government Agricultural College, Poona, on "The Untouchables of an Indian City." Lord Sydenham in the chair.

May 20. Dr. W. H. R. Rivers, F.R.S., on "Survivals in Sociology." Professor Hobhouse in the chair. (*Sociological Review*, Oct. 1913.)

The meetings held during the second (autumn) term were as follows :—

October 14. Mr. Cloudesley Brereton on "National Secondary Education : The Lesson from France." Professor J. Adams in the chair. (*Sociological Review*, October, 1913.)

October 28. Miss Jane Harrison on "Woman and Knowledge." Professor Gilbert Murray in the chair.

November 11. Mr. Edward Cadbury on "Some Principles of Industrial Organisation." Mr. J. A. Hobson in the chair. (*Sociological Review*, April, 1914.)

November 25. Mr. F. G. D'Aeth on "The Unit of Social Organisation in Towns." Professor Urwick in the chair. (*Sociological Review*, January, 1914.)

December 9. Miss Winifred Stephens on "Some Current of Modern French Thought as Reflected in the Novel." Sir Sidney Lee in the chair. (*Sociological Review*, January, 1914.)

FINANCES OF THE SOCIETY.

The Society closed the year with a total indebtedness, including the accumulated deficits of former years, of £119 10s. 5d. The hopes expressed during the past two years that it would be possible, by means of careful

economies in working, to make the Society practically self-supporting have not been realised. Towards the close of the year a meeting of the Council was called for the purpose of taking the financial situation into consideration, and it was resolved to make a special appeal to members for the raising of an Emergency Fund to clear off the debt. It was estimated that a contribution of half-a-guinea from the members as a whole, added to several larger donations promised, would enable the Council to meet current expenditure and to wipe off the overdraft at the Bank. The appeal was accordingly sent out, but it met with a somewhat smaller response than was hoped for. The total sum raised by December 31, was £118 2s. 0d., since when £31 11s. 6d. has been received, making in all £149 13s. 6d. The Council therefore must regretfully record that the position, although improved, is still most unsatisfactory. The establishment expenses, as members are aware, are kept down to the minimum level, and in view of the work carried on and the increasing call for a society fulfilling the functions of the Sociological Society, the maintenance of the organisation on a self-supporting basis ought not to be a matter of difficulty.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW.

The expenses of the *Sociological Review* have been met since its foundation by means of a special Guarantee Fund provided by members. This fund, renewed last year for a further term of three years, has enabled the Council to continue the *Review* as a quarterly publication. A statement of income and expenditure on account of the *Review* has, as usual, been supplied to members. From this it will be seen that the deficit of the year, made up by the guarantors, amounted to £189 16s. 4d.

GROUP FOR THE STUDY OF WOMEN IN SOCIETY.

The increasing interest in the present position of women and the many controversies aroused by the subject led to a discussion among some of the members of the Society last year, and in the autumn a new group was formed for the study of the relation of women to society. At the preliminary meetings an outline syllabus was discussed, and a scheme of lectures and discussions tentatively drawn up. Miss Jane Harrison's paper, read at an ordinary meeting of the Society on October 28th, was arranged partly as a starting point for the group, which by the end of the year was organised and ready for work. It consists of 28 members, 20 of whom are members of the Sociological Society. The president is Mr. J. A. Hobson, and the Hon. Secretary Miss L. Keyser Yates, to whose efforts the launching of the group is mainly due.

THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY GROUP.

The Social Psychology Group, formed in 1912, has continued and extended its work with gratifying success during the year. The group now numbers 48 members, of whom 16 are members and 30 non-members of the Sociological Society. Meetings are held monthly, in the Society's Rooms, and the thanks of the Society are specially due to Dr. William Brown, the chairman, who has taken the chair at most of the meetings, and on one occasion, when the expected lecturer failed, delivered a valuable extempore address on "The Aims and Ideals of Social Psychology." It had been thought advisable to raise the subscription—which only non-members of the Sociological Society are asked to pay—from 2/6 to 5/-. The estimate

is that the new subscriptions should wipe out the debt, cover all the expenses of the coming year, and provide the Treasurer with a small sum which may probably form the nucleus of a propaganda fund.

The Report and Accounts having been adopted, the honorary officers of the Society were unanimously re-elected, namely :—

THE RIGHT HON. A. J. BALFOUR, President.

Mr. J. Martin White, Hon. Treasurer.

Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, Hon. Secretary.

The members of the Council were re-elected *nem. con.*, the name of Mr. Graham Wallas being added to the list.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

On Tuesday afternoon, February 10th, Dr. William Brown lectured on "Psycho-Analysis and the Problem of Personality," Dr. E. Lauriston Shaw being in the chair.

On Tuesday, February 24th, at 8.15, Dr. C. W. Saleeby read a paper on "The First Decade of Modern Eugenics, 1904-1914." The Bishop of Birmingham was in the chair. The paper appears in the present issue of the *Review*.

On Tuesday, March 10, Mr. Frank R. Cana, F.R.G.S., read a paper on "The Future of the Kaffir," Mr. J. A. Hobson in the chair. (Mr. F. S. Van Oss, who had been announced to read a paper on "The Effect of Public and Private Extravagance on the Rate of Interest," was unable to do so on account of illness.)

On Tuesday evening, March 31, following the annual general meeting, Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe read a paper on "Changing America," Professor L. T. Hobhouse being in the chair.

FORTHCOMING MEETINGS.

Tuesday, May 5, at 5.15, Mr. Edward A. Filene, of Boston, Mass., will address the society on "Coming Business and Social Changes." The chair will be taken by Sir Albert Rollit.

Tuesday, May 19 (not the 12th as originally arranged), at 8.15, Mr. Gustav Spiller will read a paper on "Darwinism and Sociology," with Sir Edward Brabrook, C.B., in the chair.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- Branford, Victor. "Interpretations and Forecasts: a Study of Survivals and Tendencies in Contemporary Society." Duckworth. 7/6 net.
- Bennett, Frank. "Forty Years in Brazil." Illustrated. Mills and Boon. 10/6 net.
- Robertson, J. M. "A Short History of Christianity." Second edition, revised, with additions. Watts, 1913. 5/- net.
- Marett, R. R. "The Threshold of Religion." Second edition, revised and enlarged. Methuen. 5/- net.
- Sikes, E. E. "The Anthropology of the Greeks." Nutt. 5/- net.
- Frazer, J. G. "The Golden Bough." Part IV: Adonis, Attis, Osiris." 2 vols. Third edition, revised and enlarged. Macmillan. 20/- net.
- Temple, Sir Richard C. "Anthropology as a Practical Science." Bell. 1/- net.
- Cannan, Edwin. "Wealth: a Brief Explanation of the Causes of Economic Welfare." P. S. King. 3/6 net.
- Vanderlint, Jacob (edited by J. H. Hollander). "Money Answers All Things, 1734." A Reprint of Economic Tracts. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. \$1.00.
- Whittaker, Sir Thomas P. "Ownership, Tenure, and Taxation of Land." Macmillan. 12/- net.
- Lennard, R. "Economic Notes on English Agricultural Wages." Macmillan. 5/- net.
- Harben, H. D. "The Rural Problem." Constable, 1913. 2/6 net.
- "The Report of the Land Inquiry Committee. (Vol. 2.) Urban." Hodder and Stoughton. 1/- net.
- Johns Hopkins University Studies. Series xxxi, No. 3. "The Free Negro in Virginia." John H. Russell, 1913. \$1.00. Series xxxii, No. 1. "Jurisdiction in American Building-Trades Unions." N. Ruggles Whitney. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.
- Columbia University Studies. Vol. LVI, No. 1. "Speculation on the New York Exchange, Sep. 1904 to March 1907." A. A. Osborne. 1913. \$1.00. No. 2: "The Policy of the United States towards Industrial Monopoly." O. W. Knauth. \$2.00. Vol. LVII, No. 1. "The Civil Service of Great Britain." Robert Moses. \$2.00. New York: Columbia University.
- Harvard Economic Studies. Vol. IX. "History of the Grain Trade in France, 1400-1770." A. P. Usher. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1913. \$2.00 net.
- Rivers, Dr. W. H. R. "Kinship and Social Organisation." Constable. 2/6 net.
- Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. No. 140. "Housing and Town Planning." Philadelphia.
- Culpin, E. G. "Garden City Movement up to Date." Garden City Association. 1/- net.
- Bosanquet, Mrs. "Social Work in London. A History of the Charity Organisation Society." Murray. 8/- net.

- Way, Herbert W. L. "Round the World for Gold." Illustrations and Maps. Sampson Low, 1912. 21/- net.
- Blaiklock, G. (edited by J. T. Rae). "The Alcohol Factor in Social Conditions." The Report of an Inquiry presented to the National Temperance League. P. S. King. 1/- net.
- Best, R. H., and Ogden, C. K. "The Problem of the Continuation School." P. S. King. 1/- net.
- Montessori, M. "Dr. Montessori's Own Handbook." Heinemann. 3/6 net.
- Mallock, W. H. "Social Reform : its Relation to Realities and Delusions." Murray. 6/- net.
- Bloomfield, Meyer. "The School and the Start in Life." Washington : United States Bureau of Education.
- Siegfried, André (trans. from the French by W. D. Stewart). "Democracy in New Zealand." Bell. 6/- net.
- Ward, Wilfrid. "Men and Matters." Longmans. 12/- net.
- Severn, Dr. Elizabeth. "Psycho-Therapy : its Doctrine and Practice." Rider. 3/6 net.
- Carrington, Hereward. "The Problems of Psychical Research." Rider. 7/6 net.
- Baldwin, J. Mark. "History of Psychology : a Sketch and an Interpretation." 2 vols. Watts, 1913. 1/- each net.
- Bryce, Viscount. "The Roman and the British Empires." Oxford University Press. 6/- net.
- Angell, Norman. "The Foundations of International Polity." Heinemann. 3/6 net.
- Haldane, Viscount. "The Meaning of Truth in History. Being the Creighton Lecture for 1913-14." University of London Press. 1/- net.
- Morley, Viscount. "Notes on Politics and History : a University Address." Macmillan. 2/6 net.
- Douglas, James. "New England and New France." With illustrations and maps. New York and London : Putnam's, 1913. \$3.00 net.
- Beard, Chas. A. "Contemporary American History, 1877-1913." New York : Macmillan. 6/6 net.
- Lytton, Lady Constance, and 'Jane Warton.' "Prisons and Prisoners." With Portraits. Heinemann. 3/6 net.
- Ives, George. "A History of Penal Methods." Stanley Paul. 10/6 net.
- Adam, H. L. "Woman and Crime." Illustrated. Werner Laurie. 6/- net.
- Dawson, W. H. (edited by). "The Year-book of the Universities of the Empire, 1914." Jenkins. 7/6 net.
- Descamps, Paul. "La Formation sociale de l'Anglais moderne." Paris : Armand Colin. 4 frcs.
- Etudes de Politique Internationale. "Le Problème Mondial." Alberto Torres. Rio de Janeiro : Imprensa Nacional, 1913.

PAMPHLETS.

- "The Irish Question." With a Foreword by Sir Horace Plunkett. Reprinted from the *Round Table*, December, 1913. Macmillan.
- "First Annual Report of the Chief, Children's Bureau, to the Secretary of Labour for year ended 30 June, 1913." Washington : Department of Labour, U.S.A.